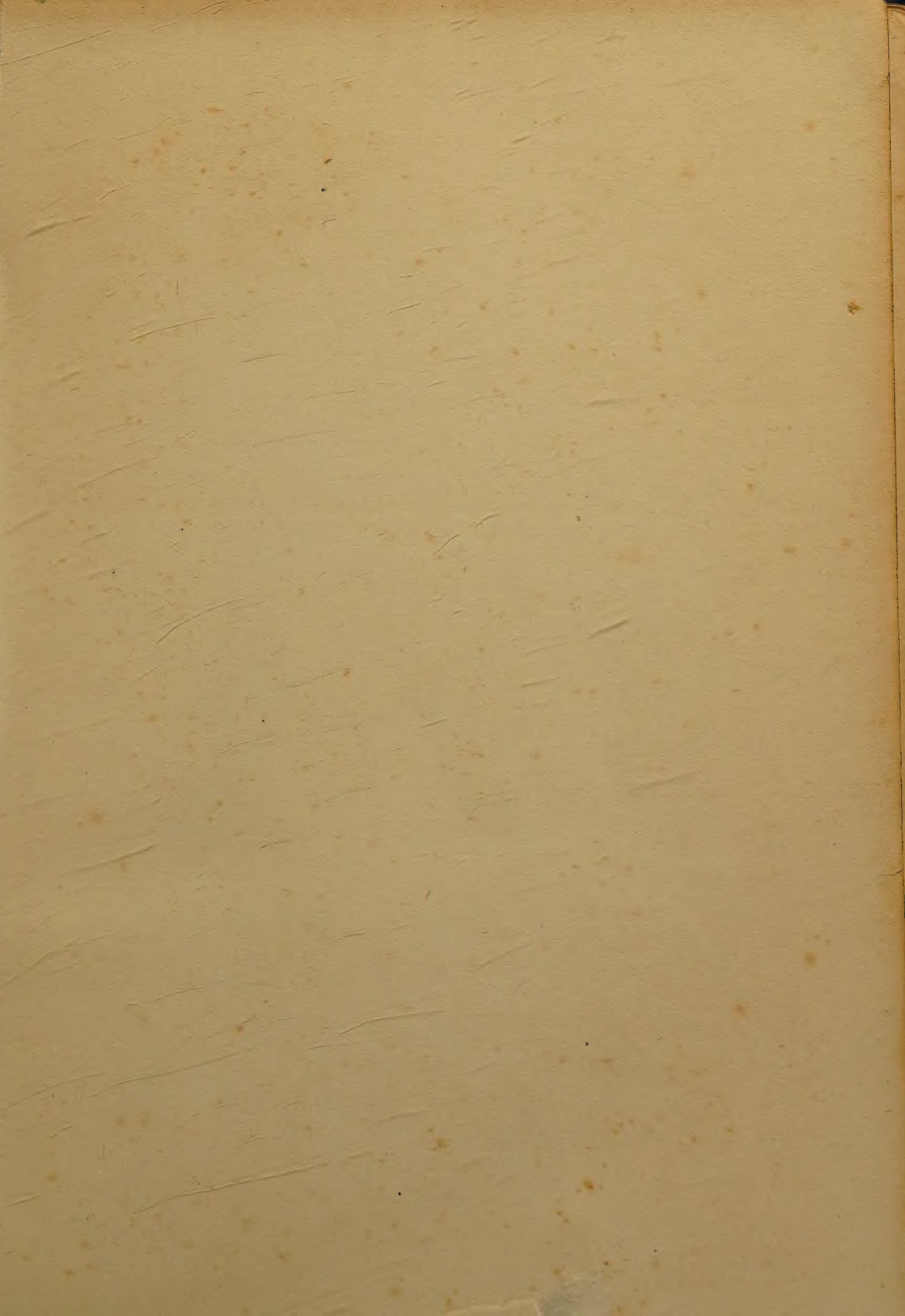


BRITAIN'S SEA STORY



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BRITAIN'S SEA STORY

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THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

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Editor of the *Temple Readers*, *Hakluyt's English Voyages*,
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BRITAIN'S SEA STORY

B.C. 55—A.D. 1805

Being the Story of British Heroism in
Voyaging and Sea-Fight from
Alfred's Time to the Battle
of Trafalgar

WITH AN INTRODUCTION TRACING
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
STRUCTURE OF SAILING SHIPS
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

EDITED BY

E. E. SPEIGHT, B.A., F.R.G.S.

Editor of *Halknuyt's English Voyages* and *The Temple Readers* and Joint-Editor of
The Crown Imperial Reader and *Stories from the Northern Sagas*

AND

R. MORTON NANCE

ILLUSTRATED

LONDON

HENRY FROWDE
HODDER AND STOUGHTON

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NOTE

THIS little book is believed to be the first to give a simple concise account of British ships and sea-exploits from early times to the great day on which our sovereignty of the seas was assured. It is necessarily imperfect, inasmuch as for many periods we possess the scantiest of records, while for other periods the material is so abundant that a nice choice is naturally difficult where one is closely limited. We have thought it well to devote a considerable amount of space to the earlier periods, especially in the introduction, since the teaching of history ensures a greater familiarity with naval progress since the Elizabethan days, by reason of the wealth of original records and critical work. Our hearty thanks are due to Miss Fiona Macleod for her vivid picture of the fight between the Vikings and the Gaels, and to Mr. H. P. Biggar, the eminent archivist to the Canadian Government, for his account of Cabot. The paper on shipbuilding in Viking times, written by Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, of Cambridge, and published in a recent number of the *Saga Book* of the London Viking Club, has given us valuable help.

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YE MARINERS OF ENGLAND

YE Mariners of England !
That guard our native seas ;
Whose flag has braved, a thousand years,
The battle and the breeze !
Your glorious standard launch again
To match another foe.
And sweep through the deep,
While the stormy winds do blow ;
While the battle rages loud and long,
And the stormy winds do blow.

The spirit of your fathers
Shall start from every wave !
For the deck it was their field of fame,
And Ocean was their grave.
Where Blake and mighty Nelson fell,
Your manly hearts shall glow,
As ye sweep through the deep,
While the stormy winds do blow ;
While the battle rages loud and long,
And the stormy winds do blow.

Britannia needs no bulwarks,
No towers along the steep ;
Her march is o'er the mountain-waves,
Her home is on the deep.

With thunders from her native oak,
She quells the floods below,—
As they roar on the shore,
When the stormy winds do blow;
When the battle rages loud and long,
And the stormy winds do blow.

The meteor flag of England
Shall yet terrific burn;
Till danger's troubled night depart,
And the star of peace return.
Then, then, ye ocean warriors,
Our song and feast shall flow
To the fame of your name,
When the storm has ceased to blow;
When the fiery fight is heard no more
And the storm has ceased to blow.

THOMAS CAMPBELL

THE BUILDING OF THE SHIP

Over the sea our galleys went,
With cleaving prows in order brave,
To a speeding wind and a bounding wave—
A gallant armament :
Each bark built out of a forest-tree
Left leafy and rough as first it grew,
And nailed all over the gaping sides,
Within and without, with black bull-hides,
Seethed in fat and supplied in flame
To bear the playful billows' game.

The Wanderers (ROBERT BROWNING)

I

THE BRITISH PERIOD

LONG ago, before the dawn of our history, when the wanderings of ancient tribes from east to west brought about the peopling of the British Islands, there must have arisen problems of shipbuilding and navigation of a serious nature. During the gradual crossing of the continent of Europe, nothing more difficult would present itself than the ferrying of rivers or fishing on inland waters. But the moment the shores of the North Sea and the Atlantic were reached, a check was given to the navigation which could only be overcome by the building of vessels large enough to transport whole families with their vehicles, cattle, and household utensils.

Now we know with certainty that amongst primitive tribes the earliest forms of boats are the log canoe and the coracle. The origin of the former is no doubt simply the fallen tree floating down stream which the savage sees and adapts to his own use. He would easily find out the way of making a kind of inflated wineskin of a hide and using it to help him across a river. From that it is an easy step to attaching such inflated skins to a log canoe or log raft to give greater buoyancy ; and this method is one which is still in use in some parts of Central Asia. From the closed inflated oxhide to the coracle is not a very long step ; the idea being, of course, to construct out of a buoyant hide a vessel of greater convenience for transport : a man might balance himself on a floating hide and so cross a stream, but it would be very difficult to carry goods in such a manner. So a combination of basket and hide was at last hit upon. A framework of wicker was constructed, no doubt round in the first instance, as are the modern Persian coracles, and this was then covered with a hide, the completed vessel being propelled by a branch of a tree which in time developed into a rude paddle.

When the wandering Celtic tribes were thus faced by the problem of crossing a heaving sea to far-off islands that were for the most part enshrouded in mists, they had the choice of the raft or canoe made of logs, or the wicker-boat ; it is easy to see that some form of the latter must have been decided upon. For the logs being heavy and rigid would be partly submerged by each roll of a heavy sea, whereas the coracle would dance on the crest of the waves. And by modifying the shape of the coracle from that of a round basket to a lengthened form with raised ends, some protection against flooding when the vessel pitched would be gained. If, further, stout timber were used for the framework instead of wicker, and the whole

covered with leather, they would have a stronger yet light-floating transport vessel. The log canoe, on the other hand, was difficult to modify on account of its length and want of breadth. We have a modern example of this in the *Travels of Struys* (1684), who says of the Cossack canoe: "These boats, which are no more than trunks of trees hollowed, they are fain to drag and trail a day's journey overland before they find the Volga, at the nearest distance these rivers (Don and Volga) lie to each other, and here when they are come they tie heavy balks on each side to keep them above water, and to give them a due balance and poise in their floating."

As we should expect, these log boats are mainly to be found now in countries where navigation is restricted to the crossing of rivers. Even as near to us as Scandinavia the log ferry still survives in the *eka* or *ekastock* (the oakie or oaklog), which are used on the Orkdal river in Norway, and on the inland waters of Wärend in Sweden.

We have no records of British shipping before the Roman period of our history, but at that point we are able to lay hold on certain facts. Pliny the naturalist, who wrote about the Christian era, states that the Britons sailed to the island of Mictis, six days' sail away, in wicker vessels done round with oxhides. A fuller description is given by Caesar, in his account of his first Spanish campaign during the civil war. In order to cross the river Sicoris he ordered the soldiers, he says, to make boats of the build that British usage had taught him in former years. First the keel and the ribs were made of light timber; the rest of the body of the boat was woven together of osiers and covered by hides. And the poet Lucan in his *Pharsalia* tells us that "first the white willow is woven together into a little craft by soaked osiers, and then, clothed in the hide of a felled young bullock, it swims out on the swollen river obedient to the

passenger. Thus sails the Briton over the broad ocean."

With the spread of Roman power and the later restrictions of British tribes to remote parts of these islands, the use of such skin-covered boats naturally gave way before that of the more highly developed vessels of the peoples who conquered the country. But it is curious that just in these remote districts the coracle still survives, and may be seen to this day on certain rivers of Wales and its borders. It is a broad, short framework of interlaced woodwork, covered generally with canvas, leather, or oilcloth. Unlike the old British coracle, it has a central seat, and a strap by means of which it can be carried on a man's back. In Ireland the term *curragh* or *curach* is applied to the developed form of the coracle, which is used on the main sea as well as on rivers.

From an early period the inhabitants of Britain were familiar with the sight of large foreign vessels, as we know from the recorded visits of Phoenicians, Greeks, and later of the Romans. But also, and near home, there was an advanced people called the Veneti, who dwelt on the French coast of Brittany in the region now still bearing the Celtic name of Morbihan or Little Sea. Of these people Caesar gives an interesting description in his *Gallic War*. Of their towns he says: "They are placed at the outermost edge of tongues of land and nesses, and neither was there access to them on foot when the flood tide had arisen, nor by ships, since with the tide ebbing they might come to grief on the shallows." Of their sea-power and ships he says: "This state exercises by far the most extensive influence of any, throughout the whole seaboard of these regions, both because the Veneti have a large number of ships in which they are in the habit of sailing to Britain, and because they excel all the rest in matters nautical; and because, in consequence of the great violence of the vast and open sea with harbours

few and far between, which they control themselves, they hold as tributaries almost all those who resort to making use of this waterway. . . . Their ships were built and fitted out in this way : their keels were somewhat flatter than those of our own ships, that they might the more easily encounter shallows and the ebbing of the tide ; the prows being very much raised and the sterns in a like manner adapted to heavy seas and high gales ; the ships were wholly made of oak, so as to be able to bear any strain and buffeting ; the thwarts were made of planks a foot broad, and were fastened by iron bolts an inch thick, and the anchors were attached by iron chains instead of cables. For sails they had skins and soft-tanned thin leather, either because of want of flax or ignorance of the use of it, or, which is more probable, because they thought ordinary sails could not stand the great tempests of the ocean and stress of high winds, nor could such heavy ships be quite conveniently manœuvred by means of them."

These passages are important because the Venetan fleet had been reinforced from Britain, which seems to imply that at this early date the Britons were building ships of this kind. It is evident from this description that the Venetans depended upon sails for their movements ; although thwarts are mentioned, they would be naturally necessary from a constructive point of view, to hold together the sides of the vessel. Banks of rowers such as were employed in the galleys of the stiller Mediterranean waters were clearly not used, as Caesar refers to the surprise caused by the form of his galleys and the motion of their oars on his first invasion of Britain. We have no information as to the steering of the British vessels : the Roman galley was steered by a clavus or large paddle-shaped rudder affixed to each quarter.

II

THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD

When we pass from the British period to the Anglo-Saxon period of history, we come upon a greater mass of evidence, direct and indirect. For the Germanic tribes who invaded these islands, and their kindred in the Scandinavian peninsula have left us, interred in great barrows, examples of their war vessels; and the old literature of the northern Germanic peoples contains abundant record of their daring adventures at sea. The earliest written account of northern ships is to be found in the *Germania* of Tacitus, who died A.D. 108. Speaking of the Suiones, by whom he doubtless meant the Scandinavians, he says: "Besides in men and arms, they are powerful in fleets. The build of the ships differs (from that of the Roman ships) in this, that at either end there is a prow so shaped as to be always ready for landing; they neither make use of sails nor adjust the oars in a row to the side; as in certain river boats, the rowing is loose and changes either way as necessity demands."

Of this description Mr. Eirikr Magnusson says: "I take it the paddlers were seated along either side, each with a one-bladed paddle, leaving the middle of the boat free for the fighters to move in. As yet, then, rowing, rudder, mast, sail, would seem to have been unknown in the north."

In 1863 there was discovered in a peat bog at Nydam in Slesvig, a large oak boat, estimated, from Roman coins found with it, to date from the third century. This boat has a special interest for us English, as it is the earliest specimen of a Germanic ship known, and it gives us a type of vessel used by the tribes of the Danish peninsula before their emigration to the British Isles.

This Nydam boat resembles the vessels described by Tacitus in that it was not a sailing boat, and in the similar formation of stem and stern. Its length was $69\frac{1}{2}$ feet, breadth at the widest $10\frac{3}{4}$ feet, and depth amidships just over 4 feet. The materials of construction were oak and iron nails; the sides were of strakes or planks clinker-worked, that is, over-lapping each other like those of a modern rowing boat, and caulked with wool mixed with some sticky substance. It is interesting to notice that this boat had a keel plank two feet wide, but no outside keel, and was thus better fitted for running up



THE NYDAM BOAT.

shallow beaches. The oars were very short, and were fixed by oar-straps to rowlocks, which were secured to the top of the gunwale by means of bast ropes. The rudder was a broad-bladed paddle $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, slung near the stern of the boat by means of a loop. So that in relaunching a beached boat it would only be necessary to untie and reverse the rowlocks, and fasten the steering paddle by its loop to the opposite end of the ship, and at once she might be steered bow first over the breakers. It was a development of a primitive steering oar.

In 1881 an equally important discovery was made of a well-preserved Viking ship at Gokstad, in South Norway. Its dimensions were larger than those of the Nydam ship; there were sixteen strakes each side of the hull, clinker-worked and iron-riveted. The arrangements for rowing were much more advanced than those of the Nydam ship: there were sixteen oars, the longest of 17 feet, and instead of rowlocks, there were oarholes with slits to draw the blade through, and shutters to close the holes when not



THE GOKSTAD SHIP.

used. In this boat we find a rudder loosely fixed pivot-wise to a projecting piece of wood on the starboard (i.e. the steerboard) side, and held in position by a loop round the head, in which a tiller was placed. There was also a mast, and a square sail of striped wool, the rigging being so arranged that it might be removed easily when the boat was being rowed. A picturesque feature of this kind of ship was the display made by the row of shields slung over each side. Another interesting point was the

slinging of a tilt, or awning, over the middle part of the boat.

The Gokstad ship may be taken as a general type of the Viking war-vessels of which we read so much in the northern sagas. We must add that in these vessels there was erected at the bow and the stern a staging on which the chief warriors took their stand, and this forms an interesting starting-point in the development of what became later the fore and stern castles. But at this period (800 to 1000 A.D.), the art of ship-building was advanced in the north, and in addition to war-vessels we read of merchant-ships for ocean travel and many kinds of smaller boats.

The old northern literature is rich in stories of adventure by sea, and we have consequently a great deal of detailed information regarding the various kinds of ships which were then to be seen in northern waters. This is valuable for our purpose, as it must be remembered that these boats of the Northmen were on every coast of western Europe during the Anglo-Saxon period. The Northmen harried and held dominion at one time and another over all parts of the British Islands, and over the Norman coast of France. Their types of boats must have predominated and set the fashion to English boat-builders. Moreover, Anglo-Saxon literature, being the work largely of a people who were settled, contains little description of sea voyages and ships, though the sea itself plays an important part in Anglo-Saxon poetry. It will be worth while, then, to enumerate the various kinds of boats of the northern peoples of which we have knowledge.

Of the warships, called longships, there were two types, one a smaller boat seating about forty rowers, called a *snekkja*, more especially a Swedish type, and a larger one seating as many as sixty rowers, called

the *skeith*, of which the dragon-ship seems to have been an ornamented form. These boats were originally intended for rowing only, but provision for sailing was added in later times. They were coast and fjord ships and not ocean-going craft.

The ocean ships, such as those used in the Iceland voyage, were sailing ships of a broader build than the longship, probably with provision for rowing in case of need. They are mentioned as being at the battle of Hafursfjord in 872, "adorned with yawning heads and graven prow-plates." But as no specimens of this type have ever been dug up and no carvings or other representations exist, we can only conjecture that they were undecked vessels resembling the longships, but shorter and broader.

The third class of vessels, that including small boats, contains a number of varieties of which it is not necessary to give details. These include the open rowing boats of twelve, eight, six, and four oars and of course smaller boats such as ships' boats or cock-boats. There were ferry boats, often made from one piece or log, and coracles. The larger boats of this class included the smaller ship of burthen, called *byrthingr*, which was used for coastal trading, and the *skuta*, a swift vessel of ten to fifteen oars, smaller than the *snekkja*; it might be rowed or sailed, and was used both for trading and fighting.

The details we possess regarding the ships of the Anglo-Saxons are so few that we can form no clear idea as to how far they differed from those of the continental northern peoples. We have mention of ships, longships, keels and boats, and there are other words, some of which are clearly borrowed from the language of the Northman. In the reign of Alfred, an attack was made on the south coast by bands of sea-rovers from East Anglia and

Northumbria, who came in what are called *æscs* (probably vessels of ash). Alfred caused longships to be built to oppose these *æscs*, and the Saxon chronicle says of these new longships "they were nearly twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars and some had more; they were both swifter and steadier, and also higher than the others. They were built neither like the Frisian nor the Danish, but so as it seemed to him they would be most efficient." We have no details beyond this.

In the Old English poem *Beowulf*, the earliest literature in our language, written about 600 A.D., there are some conventional descriptions of ships, such as the following:

He went in his sea-boat
To move the deep water; he forsook the Danes' land.
There was a sea-cloth fixed to the mast,
A sail made fast by a rope; the sea timber groaned,
Nor did the wind over the waters hinder
The wave-floater; the sea-goer went,
The foamy-necked floater, forth over the sea,
The curved prow sailed over the ocean currents,
Until they could see the cliffs of the Geats,
The well-known nesses. The vessel pressed up,
Urged by the wind it stood on the land.
Soon was the harbour-guard ready at the strand,
Who long had gazed far over the sea,
Eager for the coming of the dear men.
He fastens to the shore the wide-bosomed ship,
With anchor-bonds fast, lest the force of the waves
Should carry away the winsome boat.

There is also in *Beowulf* a picture of the burial of a warrior, who was laid on the deck of his ship, by the mast. Many treasures and weapons were placed by him, and a golden standard high over his head, and the ship was then allowed to drift out to sea.

In the *Andreas*, one of the oldest English poems after *Beowulf*, there is a description of a ship and a sail :

Though sixteen times,
In former days and late, I've been to sea,
And rowed with freezing hands upon the deep,
Yet even so mine eyes have ne'er beheld
A mighty captain steering at the stern
Like unto thee. Loud roars the surging flood,
Beats on the shore ; this sea-boat is full fleet ;
It fareth, foamy-necked most like a bird,
And glides upon the deep. I surely know,
I never saw upon the ocean road
Such wondrous skill in any seafarer.

There is a famous poem in Old English literature, written probably in the eighth century, which describes the hardships of a sailor's life. It is a mournful strain, echoing the loneliness of these northern waters in those dark times. The sailor sings of the sorrow of the night-watch at the prow, as the boat grated along the rocks in a whirl of waves. His feet were fettered by the frost and hunger took away his courage. The landsman knows nothing of the winter wandering of the sailor, when the hail is beating and the ship is hung with icicles. Instead of the joys of the mead-hall full of comrades, there was the cry of the swan, the scream of the gannet and the wailing of the curlew and the seagull.

III

THE NORMAN PERIOD

For the invasion of England in 1066 William the Norman gathered a fleet large enough to transport his army at one crossing. We have no detailed description of these vessels, but we know that they were manned

and directed by Northmen, and therefore were not likely to differ much from the Scandinavian types of boats. The Bayeux tapestry preserves some very conventional designs of sailing boats carrying men and horses, but they are untrustworthy in many points. Some of these represent Harold in English vessels. In one of these the boat has lions' heads at the prow and the stern; a boy is at the mast-head, two men are pulling and a man holds an anchor over the bow. A short description of William's own ship has been handed



THE "MORA."

(From the Bayeux Tapestry.)

down and reads as follows: "Matilda, afterwards queen, wife of the Duke, in honour of the said Duke, caused a ship to be built called *Mora*, in which he was conveyed. On the prow of the ship Matilda caused a golden boy to be placed, pointing to England with his right fore-finger, and pressing an ivory horn to his mouth with his left hand; in return for which the Duke granted to the said Matilda the county of Kent." In the picture of this ship on the tapestry the figure of the boy is clearly shown blowing his horn and in

addition waving a small banner in his left hand, but it is placed on the stern facing the prow. The striped sail, the oarports or holes, the side-rudder and the row of shields (in this case of the long Norman shape) serve to remind us of what we have already seen in the Gokstad ship.

In the Norwegian *Orkneyinga Saga*, which deals with events happening between the years 1050 and 1150, we have many picturesque glimpses of sea-life round about the British Isles. In the fight off Caithness between Earl Rognvald, who had thirty large ships, and Earl Thorfinn with sixty ships, most of them small, the losses at first were heaviest on Thorfinn's side, the chief cause being the great difference in the height of the ships. We are told that Thorfinn himself had a large ship, well equipped, in which he pressed forward with great daring. But when his smaller vessels had been cleared, his own ship was attacked, and to prevent being boarded he cut the ropes by which he was fastened to another boat and rowed to the shore with seventy men killed and many wounded. Afterwards he rowed back to his men, who were in difficulties, and after clearing Rognvald's smaller ships they attacked the Earl's own boat, and he was forced to cut his cables and flee to Norway. A little later Rognvald and his fellows were killed at Little Papey in the Orkneys by Thorfinn's men, who afterwards played a cunning trick. They took a barge and loaded it with malt; then they went on board and ranged the shields which had belonged to Rognvald and his men along the bulwarks, and rowed to Kirkwall. When Rognvald's friends saw them coming they went down to meet them unarmed, and Thorfinn took thirty of them and slew them.

In the account of a fight between Earl Paul and

Oliver Rosta in the Orkneys we have an instance of the custom of carrying stones as missiles. The Earl asked Erling of Tankerness to continue bringing stones until prevented by the fighting. We read that when the Earl saw that Oliver had boarded his ship, he urged his men forward and jumped himself from the quarter-deck to the forepart of the ship. When Oliver perceived this, he grasped a spear and hurled it at the Earl, who met it with his shield, but fell down on deck. Then there was a great shout ; but at the same moment a man seized a huge stone and threw it at Oliver. It hit him on the chest with such force that he fell overboard and sank ; but his men were able to drag him up into one of their ships.

A stratagem of Swein Asleffsson, who sailed over from Thurso to Rousay, shows us a ship with men in repose : "At one end of the island there is a large headland and a vast heap of stones beneath it. Otters often resorted to this stone-heap. As they were rowing along the sound, Swein said : 'There are men on the headland, let us land and ask them for news ; let us change our dress, untie our sleeping-bags, and twenty of us lie down there, then keep on rowing leisurely.' When they came near the headland the men in the island called to them to row to Westness and bring Earl Paul what was in their vessel, thinking that they were speaking to merchants. Earl Paul had spent the night at a feast with Sigurd, at Westness. He had been up early in the morning, and twenty men had gone south on the island to catch otters, which were in the stone-heap beneath the headland. They were going home to get a morning draught. The men in the barge rowed near the land ; they asked the men on shore about all the news, and were asked what news they brought, and whence they came. Swein's men also

asked where the Earl was, and the others said he was on the stone-heap there. This was heard by Swein and those that lay hid with him in the skin-bags. Swein told them to row to land where they could not be seen from the headland. Then he told his men to get their weapons and slay the Earl's men wherever they found them, and so they did. They killed nineteen men, losing six, and carried off Earl Paul prisoner."

In another account we have a picture of men sailing past Berwick sleeping under awnings during a gale, with one of the men keeping watch in a fur-coat.

For the period between the Norman conquest and the reign of King John the details of ship-construction are very meagre. There can be little doubt that the size of the ships of burthen gradually increased, though when we are told that *La Blanche Nef*, in which Prince Henry was drowned, held three hundred persons, and that the ship in which Henry the Second crossed from Normandy to Portsmouth in 1170 held four hundred, we must take it that the numbers are due to the exaggeration of chroniclers. Still we know that the Normans were of the same stock as the Vikings, therefore it is most likely that their ship-building was superior to that of the English. A natural result of the amalgamation of the two peoples would be the extension of foreign commerce; and we have evidence in the chronicle of William of Malmesbury of the importance of London and Bristol. Writing about 1125, he says: "The noble city of London, rich in the wealth of its citizens, is filled with the goods of merchants from every land, and especially from Germany; whence it happens that when there is a dearth in England, on account of bad harvests, provisions can be bought there cheaper than elsewhere; and foreign merchandize is brought to the city by the famous river Thames."

Of Bristol he says : " Its haven is a receptacle for ships coming from Ireland and Norway, and other foreign lands, lest a region so blessed with native riches should be deprived of the benefits of foreign commerce."

The trading vessel, or roundship of this day, as in earlier times, differed from the war vessel or longship in being broader and in being distinctively a sailing ship.

The sailing of a fleet from Dartmouth in 1190 to join Richard Cœur de Lion in the Mediterranean is the most important naval event of this period. It was the first time that a number of English vessels had been called on to make such a long journey, and we have evidence as to the unfitness of many of them in the difficulties and losses sustained before reaching Lisbon. We have a description of these ships in the chronicle of Richard of Devizes, who says that they were vessels of great capacity, very strongly and compactly built. Each of the larger vessels carried forty war horses and foot soldiers with a crew of fourteen and a commander, and were provided with stores for twelve months. The principal ships had three spare rudders, thirteen anchors, thirty oars, two sails, and duplicates of every necessary article except the mast and the ship's boat.

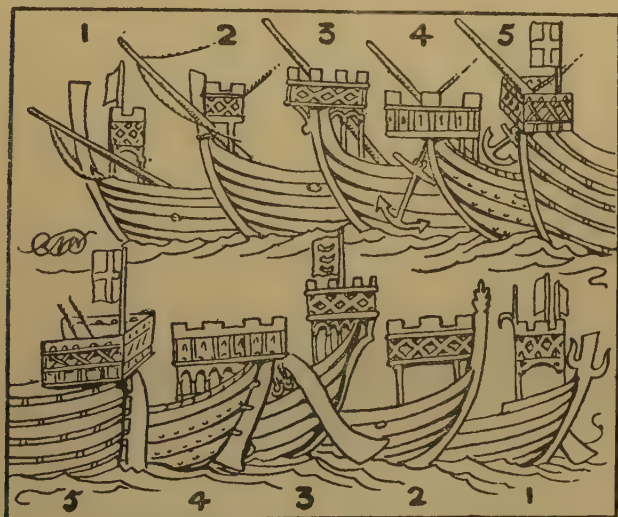
Geoffrey de Vinesauf in his Itinerary of Richard gives the following description of the fleet entering Messina : " As soon as the people heard of his arrival, they rushed in crowds to the shore to behold the glorious King of England, and at a distance saw the sea covered with innumerable galleys ; and the sounds of trumpets from afar, with the sharper and shriller blasts of clarions, resounded in their ears ; and they beheld the galleys rowing in order nearer to the land, adorned and furnished with all manner of arms, countless pennons floating in the wind, ensigns at the end of the lances, the beaks of the galleys distinguished by various paintings, and glittering

shields suspended to the prows. The sea appeared to boil with the multitude of the rowers; the clangour of their trumpets was deafening; the greatest joy was testified at the arrival of the various multitudes; when thus our magnificent king, attended by crowds of those who navigated the galleys, stood on a prow more ornamented and higher than the others."

In this fleet of Richard we first find the English using ships of a Mediterranean type, such as had been developed from vessels employed by the ancient civilizations. The galleys mentioned in the description quoted above were of this kind. They were not clinker-built, but carvel-built, that is with the planking laid edge to edge and not overlapping; the prow was sharp, with a beak for the purpose of ramming an enemy's ship; the stern was round and elevated; the mast had sails of the lateen or Latin type; there were two rudders, one on each quarter. Besides galleys we have mention of other vessels of foreign origin. There was the vissier, a boat for transporting horses, which were taken in and out of a large port in the stern; there were the buss and the dromond, both terms which are used with latitude, the buss being generally a round-built sailing ship, and the dromond larger than the buss and having, like it, two or three masts with lateen sails and latin rudders. These boats were all decked, and the dromonds, which were sometimes of great size, had doubtless more than one deck.

These Mediterranean vessels, familiar as they must have been in English ports after the Crusades, exercised very little influence on the development of English shipping, which moved along lines of its own. The name buss, whatever its origin, was however long retained as a name for the round or merchant ship. The

galley, although frequently met with in English expeditions, never took a real hold in this country, the rough seas and tides and want of harbours being against their use. The war vessels in most frequent use were of the round ship type, suitable for the transport of soldiers and equipment. For a long period such vessels served both for fighting and trading, and king's vessels



DEVELOPMENT OF BOW AND STERN CASTLES.

(From Contemporary Seals.)

were frequently hired by merchants and sent on trading voyages. During the thirteenth century the fighting platforms rapidly developed into the castle-like structures which were characteristic of the later mediaeval period. At first consisting of a defended platform raised on an open staging at a short distance from the prow and stern, they were gradually moved away from the centre of the ship, until they projected beyond the stem and

stern posts as the fore and stern castles. At this period, too, the top-castle now appears as a small structure fastened in front of the mast at its head, later increasing in size and encircling the mast. These castles were erected independently of the building of the ship by special workmen called castle-wrights, and their addition converted a merchant ship into a war ship. Early in the fourteenth century the rudder as we know it, slung from the stern post on pintles and gudgeons, took the place of the steering paddle on the starboard quarter. This brought about a further change, as, in order to allow of the working of the tiller, which was fixed at right angles to the head of the rudder, the stern post had to be cut short. From this time forward the forms of the forecastle and poop lose resemblance to each other and develop independently, the forecastle being loftier and the stern castle increasing in length and capacity as a place of accommodation for the chief personages on board.

Up to this time northern ships had only one mast, supported by shrouds at each side and a stay leading forward to the stem. This mast carried a yard, to which was attached the upper edge of a single square sail. To raise this yard a halyard was fixed to its centre and then passed through a hole in the masthead, whence it descended to the deck. From the ends of the yard braces led to the stern by means of which the sail could be adjusted to the wind. From the lower corners of the sail the tacks led forward and the sheets aft. Although the square sail might seem to have been inadequate, it could be so trimmed as to allow of sailing towards the wind. This was effected chiefly by means of the bowline, a rope which extended the front edge of the sail towards the bow. During this period, as ships became shorter in proportion to breadth, it was found

necessary to provide a projecting spar carrying blocks through which the bowline passed. This was the first use of a bowsprit.

IV

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The various kinds of English ships in existence during the reign of Edward III include cogs, barges, galleys, shutes, crayers, doggers, pinnaces and balingers. The word *ship*, then as now, included large vessels of many kinds. In point of size English ships were inferior to those of Spain and Venice, and did not exceed a burthen of from two to three hundred tons. The largest kind of ship was the cog. In 1360 the crew of the cog *Thomas* consisted of the master, two constables, two carpenters, 124 sailors and eight boys. The men were probably armed in some way, and besides them the ship would carry, as was the custom, about half as many soldiers and archers as the crew numbered.

Barges were of large size, but smaller than cogs, and whilst the latter were sailing ships, barges were also propelled by oars. The larger barges held upwards of a hundred sailors and soldiers. It is very likely that then, as now, the word barge was applied to a variety of vessels. Chaucer's shipman, who dwelt far by west, at Dartmouth, for aught Chaucer knew, was the captain of a barge:

If that he fought and had the higher hand,
By water he sent them home to every land.
But of his craft to reckon well his tides,
His streamës and his dangers him besides,
His harborough and his moon, his lodemenage,
There was none such from Hullë to Cartâge.

Hardy he was, and wise to undertake ;
With many a tempest had his beard been shake.
He knew well all the havens as they were,
From Gothland to the Cape of Finisterre ;
And every creek in Bretagne and in Spain ;
His barge y-clepēd was the *Maudelayne*.

There were various kinds of broad, flat-bottomed boats used for the transport of men and horses, probably early types of fly-boats ; some of these are called shutes and others fluves, or floynes. The crayer was a small merchant-vessel sometimes used for transport of soldiers ; its tonnage was generally from thirty to fifty. The dogger was chiefly used for fishing, and carried as many as thirty men. Pinnaces are frequently mentioned, but we have no details beyond that the *Margaret Spinace* at Sluys carried a crew of thirty-five men. It is probable that they were of the same class of boat as in the time of Henry VIII, that is, light boats suitable for sailing and rowing.

The balinger was a boat similar to that used by the Basques in their whale-fishing in the Bay of Biscay. It was sharp at each end, fully rigged and carried as many as fifty oars of 24 feet in length.

Hakluyt has preserved for us the fleet roll of Edward III on one of his expeditions to France. The proportions in the number of ships and sailors provided by the different sea-ports gives us an index to the directions shipping took in those days. In the south fleet there were 25 king's ships with 419 mariners : London also supplied 25 ships with 662 mariners : Sandwich 22, Dover 16, Winchelsea 21, Shoreham 20, and Southampton 21.

The western ports sent the largest numbers, Fowey heading the list with 47 ships and 770 mariners, Dartmouth sending 31 ships with 757 mariners,

and Plymouth 26 ships with 603 mariners. In the North Fleet Yarmouth sent 43 ships, Boston and Newcastle 17 each, Hull and Lynn 16 each.

During the period from the death of Edward III to 1422 we find little development excepting that ships were built of greater size, and this was due both to the extension of commerce and the fact that numbers of the large Mediterranean carracks and dromonds were seen in the English navy, both as mercenaries and prizes. These carracks had two masts, stood high out of the water and were of five to six hundred tons burthen. Among the ships of Henry V we find the *Holigost*, 760 tons, built in 1414, and the *Trinity Royal*, 540 tons, built in 1416, with several prizes, including the *Christopher Spayne*, 600 tons, taken in 1417. There were also seven carracks, all prizes, the barge *Valentine* of 100 tons, built in 1418 and twelve balingers, ranging from 20 to 120 tons, only one being a prize. There are also fourteen other ships varying from 120 to 400 tons, including three prizes. The most famous ship of the reign was the *Grace Dieu*, of 400 tons, the first of three ships bearing that name.

V

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The fifteenth century was not remarkable for great naval engagements, but it was a time of steady expansion of trade, and though we do not possess all the details regarding ships that we should like, we know that it must have been a period of great importance. For it was during the time immediately preceding the reign of Henry VIII that ships began to assume a modern appearance and many of the greatest changes took

place. In the early part of the fifteenth century warships carried one or two masts and sails; by the end of the century even four masts were in existence.

At the death of Henry V in 1422 his personal possessions were sold to pay his debts, and among those were the men of war. It is interesting to note that the ships of the Royal Navy were not in any sense the property of the nation, and that these ships were not considered by the King's Council as worthy to be bought in. Another



A SHIP OF 1450.

interesting fact is that at this time, as before, the warships were occasionally lent out to merchants for private voyages. It was at this period too that guns began to play an important part in the arming of ships, although it was not until the next century that they greatly affected their structure.

Among the Paston letters is one dated 1488, which describes a lively adventure. Speaking of the proposed journey of Lord Woodville to Brittany to help Francis II, the Duke, William Paston writes :

“There came many men to Southampton, where it was said that he should have taken shipping, to have waited upon him over; and so when he was countermanded, those that resorted thither to have gone over with him tarried there still in hope that they should



A SHIP AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

have been licensed to have gone over; and when they saw no likelihood that they should have license, there was two hundred of them that got them into a Breton ship, the which was late come over with salt, and bade the master set them aland in Brittany. And they had not sailed past six leagues but they espied a French-

man, and the Frenchman made over to them ; and they feared as though they would not have meddled with them, and all the Englishmen went under the hatches, so that they showed no more but those that came to Southampton with the ship, to cause the Frenchmen to be the more gladder to meddle with them. And so the Frenchmen boarded them, and then they that were under the hatches came up, and so took the Frenchman, and carried the men, ship and all, into Brittany."

By the end of the fifteenth century the ship had greatly advanced from the single-masted, one-sailed type. And although the main mast and sail still greatly preponderated in size and were chiefly relied on (as may be seen by a glance at the illustrations of Cabot's ship crossing the Atlantic), there had been added a topsail, a small foresail carried on a low mast on the forecastle, and a lateen sail carried on a mizen mast on the poop. The effect of these changes was to make the handling of the ship easier and to enable it to sail closer to the wind.

A ship of this time must have been a very gay sight as she went into battle. Her sails were painted, sometimes in stripes, sometimes with heraldic devices ; flags fluttered from bow to stern, and from the masts floated brightly coloured streamers. The waist of the ship was defended by the pavisade, a close set row of shields painted with heraldic devices. Smaller shields were ranged along the poop and forecastle and around the top-castles (by this time called tops), which were provided with light swivel-guns, pikes and other armour.

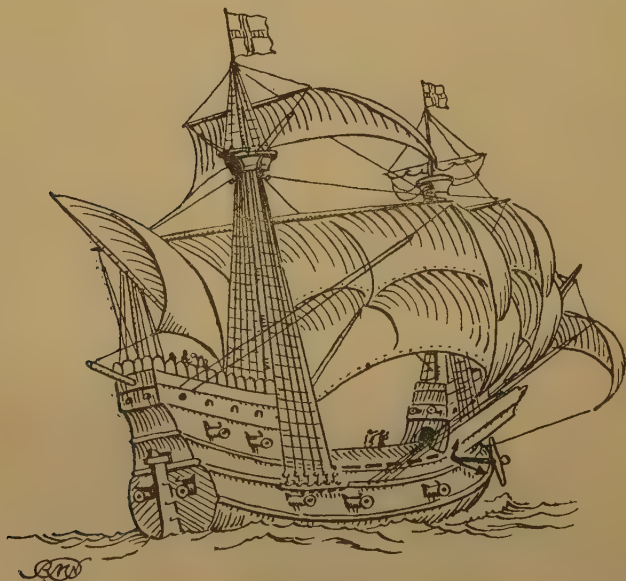
VI

HENRY VIII

With the accession of Henry VIII we find ship-building making great progress, and details are abundant. There is in existence "An Inventory or Book of all such stuff, tackle, apparel, ordinance, artillery and habilaments for the war as remained in our sovereign lord the king's ship the 27th day of July, the sixth year of his reign" (1514). This ship is the *Henry Grace à Dieu*, of four masts, heavily armed, but mostly with small breech-loading guns. On this ship were carried top sails and even top-gallant sails above the lower sails on each mast except the bonaventure, which had only a lower and top sails. A spritsail was also carried on the bowsprit, now of greater length. She carried a great boat, usually towed astern, a cock-boat, and a skiff, otherwise called a jollywatt. The *Henry Grace à Dieu* being a ship-royal, was built largely for purposes of display, and her dimensions and equipment were no doubt beyond those of the normal ship of that date.

We now find portholes cut in the sides of the ship, a recent invention which began to modify the structure of ships. Previously cannon had been pointed over the bulwarks, but the invention of portholes made it possible to use many more guns and those with greater effect. The great idea of this time was that ships of war should be floating castles, which could be defended even after they were boarded by an enemy. Besides the portholes in the sides and stern we find them cut in the cobridge heads of the fore and stern castles arranged so that the guns could be trained on to the deck between. The guns pointing from these portholes were called murdering pieces. A great change next comes about in the

stern, which is cut off short instead of the timbers being rounded up to the stern post. Viewed from behind, the sterns were very lofty, contracted above and swelling out below. There were at least five stages, including two decks in the hull and three floors in the stern castle. Each stage was provided with portholes for guns, the lowest porthole being on each side of the rudder. The



A SHIP OF 1550.

forecastle, which still projects over the bows of the ship, is also pierced with portholes. The whole of the upper works were covered with rope nettings as a hindrance to boarders.

Under the influence of Henry VIII, who employed Italian shipwrights, greater changes took place in the structure of English ships than at any other period

hitherto. These changes were not confined to England, but were in line with general European developments. In many respects Henry VIII may be regarded as the founder of the Royal Navy. He built ships which were used exclusively for fighting and not also as merchant traders, as in previous periods. He made changes in structure which are clearly due to the influence of Mediterranean types, and among his smaller war ships were a number without forecastles and poop, approaching the galley type and provided with beaks for ramming. Some of these were meant for rowing as well as sailing, and among Henry's ships was one true galley. These light vessels were built to cope with similar ships brought by the French king from the Mediterranean; but though they are found in the English navy until the next century, they proved unsuitable for our waters. In addition to the difficulties of high seas and want of harbours, there was the further one of supply of rowers, for the employment of galley-slaves was, of course, entirely foreign to English ideas of freedom.

VII

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD

The result of this blending of English and Mediterranean types was the galleon, the warship of the Elizabethan days, a great advance in the direction of the ship of Nelson's time. The roundship type of vessel was not at once displaced by the new type, but existed through the Elizabethan period side by side with the galleon. But the latter was destined to prevail, and although the term galleon was rarely used in England, the later vessels of this new type in Elizabeth's time in no material way differed from the ship called galleon by other nations. In these ships the increased length, the lowered fore-

castle, and the low projecting beak, ending in a figure-head, generally of a heraldic beast, are the striking features. The stern was still very lofty with open galleries, having its upper part decorated with the royal arms. The top sails were now carried on higher top-masts which could be lowered in case of need, but the sail-plan is still practically that of the ships of Henry VIII.



A GALLEON-BUILT ENGLISH SHIP, 1588.

The mediaeval bravery of painted shields, banners and even sails still held its place in all preparations for battle; close-fights too, light defences along the bulwarks, were hung with scarlet cloth, and when to all these are added the carving, gilding and painting that were now becoming general on warships, it may be said that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the pageantry of the sea reached its climax.

Sir William Monson, who was present in many of the Elizabethan expeditions, gives a list of forty-two ships left at the Queen's death. Two of these, the *Triumph* and the *Saint Matthew*, were of 1,000 tons, carrying 500 men and forty guns. There were three of 900 tons, the *Elizabeth Jonas*, the *White Bear*, the *Saint Andrew*; three of 800 and the rest from 700 down to the *Synnet* of twenty tons. The names of many of these ships, such as the *Ark Royal*, the *Garland*, the *Warspite*, the *Hope*, the *Rainbow*, the *Dreadnought* and the *Swallow*, are famous in history.

The same Sir William Monson in his important *Naval Tracts*, written about 1640, makes the following remarks about the building of ships :

“There are two manner of built ships : the one with a flush-deck, fore and aft, sunk and low by water ; the other lofty and high charged, with a half deck, forecastle, and copperidge-heads.

“This ship with a flush deck I hold good to fight in, if she be a fast ship by the wind, and keep herself from boarding : she is roomsome for her men, and yare to run to and again in, but she is not a ship to board, unless it be a merchant, or another ship that is inferior to her in strength and number of people. For if it happen that she be boarded and put to her defence, she lieth open to her enemy ; for gaining her upper deck you win her, having neither forecastle, nor other close-fight to retire unto ; and in that case the defensive part of the ship is the strength of the forecastle. When her deck shall be gained, and her people beaten down into the second deck, the only help is to use stratagems by fire, in making trains of divers fashions to blow up the upper deck and men upon it. . . .

“The best manner of a fight in a ship of a flush deck, or any other, indeed, being to windward of his enemy, is

to bring himself within pistol-shot of her, and to ply her and her ports with small-shot at that distance ; to lade his ordnance, some with musket-bullets, others with cross-bar, and langrel-shot, or billets, to be the destruction of men ; but to avoid boarding or being boarded. This I hold the best manner of fight betwixt ship and ship ; it will make short work, and the quarrel will be soon decided ; as fighting further off is like a Smithfield fray in times past with sword and buckler, which is nothing but the wasting and consuming of powder to no purpose.

“A high-built ship is the better for these reasons : majesty and terror to the enemy, more commodious for the harbouring of men. She will be able to carry more artillery, of greater strength within board, and make the better defence ; she will overtop a lower and snug ship ; her men cannot be so well discovered, for that the waist-cloths will take away the view and sight of them.

“And lastly, to speak of a ship with three decks. She is very inconvenient, dangerous, and unserviceable ; the number and weight of the ordnance wrings her sides, and weakens her : it is seldom seen that you have a calm so many hours together as to keep out her lower tier, and when they are out, and forced to hale them in again, it is with great labour, travail and trouble to the gunners, when they should be fighting ; she casts so great a smoke within board, that people must use their arms like blind men, not knowing how to go about their work, nor have a sight of the ship with whom they encounter.”

Besides the tall ships and the galleons there were of course many kinds of smaller vessels. Pinnace is a term frequently met with, covering boats of small tonnage, ship-rigged and capable of making ocean journeys. They were mostly armed with swivel guns around the bulwarks. Barks were also small vessels used for trading

and voyaging, and this term, like pinnace, seems to have been applied rather loosely.

The ships used by Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman in 1580, for their hazardous voyage round the North Cape into Arctic seas, were two small barks, the *George* of forty tons and the *William* of twenty tons. They actually reached Vaigatz Island in these frail craft, and the *George* safely returned to London in spite of rough weather and icebergs. The *William* wintered in Norway, left for Iceland next February and was never seen again. In 1585 John Davis sailed across the Atlantic to the strait bearing his name with vessels of fifty and thirty-five tons.

There were also the flyboat, shallop, galiot, brigandine, crayer, cromster, drumbler, hoy and other small craft of more or less vague description at this period. The merchant freebooter class of ships of the Elizabethan days was reinforced by foreign vessels of various kinds. These were acquired by capture, purchase or loan. The best known of them were the Spanish caravels, which were frequently taken and manned by English sailors, who retained the clothing of the Spanish sailors and by sailing under false colours were enabled to enter harbours and cut out many an unsuspecting ship. Easterling or Baltic ships were also in use, one of the most famous being the *Jesus of Lubeck*, which was bought for the navy by Henry VIII in 1544. She was a vessel of 700 tons and had a romantic history, for it was this ship that carried Sir John Hawkins on his second and third memorable voyages by way of Guinea to the West Indies during the years 1564-68, and was left to the Spaniards at San Juan de Ulloa in the latter year.

Such were the ships in which the sailors of Elizabeth performed their wonderful voyages. Boats that nowadays would be looked upon as small for the home coast-

ing trade were fearlessly taken into far northern, ice-bound seas, beyond Spitzbergen, Iceland and Greenland. The Atlantic was crossed in barks of thirty tons and less by the voyagers to the storm-bound coasts of Labrador and the volcano-islands of the Antilles. The terrible straits of Magellan were passed in safety and the whole world encompassed by ships of less than a hundred tons, and the pages of Hakluyt and Purchas are filled with the glorious records of the small groups of men, many of them from the west-country ports, for whom no voyage was too arduous and no foe a terror.

And we must not suppose from the crude and conventional designs of ships of this and earlier periods that the ships were not serviceable and practical. In most of the early pictures of shipping we see that the proportions of ships is of secondary importance to the men carried, and a false idea is given. The very deeds of the Elizabethan sailors, their successful voyages and valiant fights bear witness both to the character of the seamen and the value of the ships they handled. In 1577 the writer of the preface to Holinshed's *Chronicle* stated that "there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautiful or gallant sort of ships than the Queen's Majesty of England at this present, and those generally are of such exceeding force that two of them, being well appointed and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or four of those of other countries, and either stave them in or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home. . . . The common report that strangers make of our ships amongst themselves is that for strength, assurance, nimbleness, and swiftness of sailing, there are no vessels in the world to be compared with ours." It has been well said of King Philip of Spain that his advisers "warned him that the English ships, built after a new design, were fast and weatherly to a degree of which

Spanish sailors had no conception ; that their guns were numerous and heavy, and they carried them close to the water ; that their men were seamen and famous gunners, able to work the ships and fight them, and that there was no need for crowding them with soldiers.”

VIII

THE STUART PERIOD

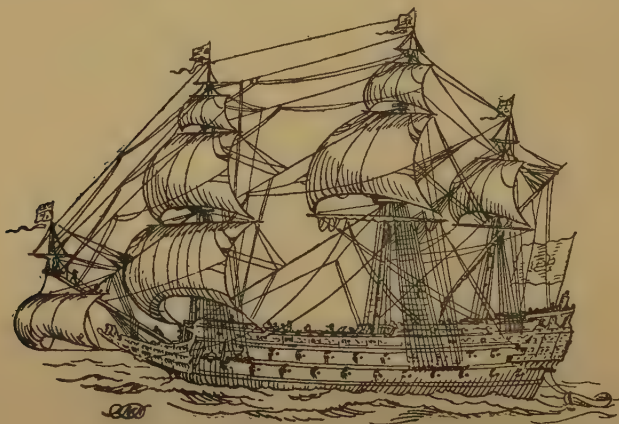
The ships of the early Stuart period differed but slightly from those of the Elizabethan period. And in fact the development since this period has not been great compared with that of the three centuries preceding. On



THE "PRINCE ROYAL," 1610.

this point Mr. Julian Corbett says : “ In spite of all that seems at first sight so old-fashioned in the instruments and ideas which Drake and his successors used, they differed only in degree, and that in no large degree, from those with which Nelson brought the art to its zenith.”

In a contemporary picture of the landing of the Elector Palatine from the *Prince Royal* in 1612 we still see the mizen and bonaventure with lateen sails. At the end of the bowsprit is erected a little mast, carrying a round top of its own and a sail. She was lavishly decorated, the "curious paintings, the like of which was never in any ship before," costing with the gilding £868, and the carving cost £441, including fourteen "great lions' heads" for the round ports. These are of course much



THE "SOVEREIGN OF THE SEAS," 1637.

higher sums than would be represented by the same figures to-day. She was the first three-decker built for the Royal Navy. Her burden was 1,200 tons and she carried fifty-five guns; the length of the keel was 115 feet, the beam or extreme breadth 43'6 feet and the depth in hold 18 feet, so that she was rather of the round-ship than long-ship type.

The *Sovereign of the Seas*, launched in 1637, was a much nearer approach to a modern ship than the *Prince Royal*.

She lay lower in the water and was longer, and there was only one mizen carrying a topsail in addition to the lateen sail. She, like the *Henry Grace à Dieu* and *Prince Royal*, was a ship of State, but in later years, after her original height had been reduced, she proved serviceable in the Dutch wars. An account of her is given later in this book.



THE "ROYAL CHARLES," 1667.

Under the stress of the Dutch wars in the second half of the seventeenth century, constant efforts were made to produce a superior class of boat. The necessity for greater speed brought about a longer and sharper hull; the stern, instead of being cut off short like an ordinary rowing boat, with what was called a square tuck, as in ships since the days of Henry VIII, was rounded and

brought up sharply to the stern post. This was an improvement which was gradually adopted by foreign shipbuilders and has given us a type of stern which has remained permanent since. The open galleries running round the stern were by this time closed in, and the whole presented a highly elaborate appearance, as may be seen in the picture of the Texel fight in this book.

Decorating during the period of Puritan supremacy was naturally curtailed, and although carving was still practised, it was on a less elaborate scale and the painting of the upper works was mainly confined to black and gold. By order of Cromwell, the royal arms on the upper part of the stern were replaced by a carved escutcheon containing the cross of St. George, with the harp of Ireland. In Restoration times the royal arms again took their place, and there was a return to extravagance, the decoration consisting mainly of figures and scroll work carved on the stern, and the figure-head, usually one of a lion rampant. In matters of armament the smaller guns of earlier periods, such as the serpentine, falcon, saker, mignon, fowler, cannon perier and drake, with the many tiny portholes, gradually fell out of use, and rows of larger cannon of uniform size were set up.

IX

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Up to this time the sails of large ships had been fixed only to yards on the masts, but by 1700 the custom was adopted of making further use of the stays or supporting ropes which run forward from the upper parts of the masts. The space between the masts was now filled with triangular stay sails, and thus the sail area of the ship was increased and it was made more weatherly or

better able to sail against the wind. It can only have been the unwillingness of sailors to adopt new methods which had delayed this important development, as fore and aft sails (such as are carried by modern cutters and schooners) had been in use for nearly two hundred years in small fishing and trading boats, particularly in the North Sea.

In a list which gives us some idea of the variety of the ships comprising the Navy at the beginning of the eighteenth century, we find 123 ships of first, second, third, and fourth rate classed as ships of the line of battle; forty-six of the fifth and sixth rates, called cruisers; eleven fireships; twelve bomb-vessels; thirteen yachts; five brigantines; seven sloops; advice-boats, store-ships, hospital-ship and hulks, hoys, smacks, tow-boats, and one ketch.

The eighteenth century was a time of greater efficiency in shipbuilding, under the stimulus of French examples. It was the great time of licensed privateering, and more prizes were taken than in any other century. Numbers of these found their way into our Navy, and many of their names have been handed down to battleships of to-day.

With regard to the decking of ships there are some modifications to be noticed. Since the Elizabethan period the tendency has been to reduce the great height of the smaller decks which comprised the stern castle. On board the *Ark Royal*, for example, if we wished to go from the forecastle to the poop lantern, it would be necessary to climb from the upper deck to the half deck, then on to the quarter deck and lastly on to the poop or round house. As time went on the height of these successive decks or stagings was much reduced; the highest stage was given up and the two remaining ones were called the quarter deck and the poop. The result of

this was that the hull of a ship of 1800 no longer showed the curve of earlier designs and assumed almost unbroken horizontal lines. From the *Prince Royal* forwards the largest ships were three-deckers, that is, they carried armament continuously on three decks running the length of the ship.

During the eighteenth century the strips of red cloth which were hung over the sides, gave way to nettings, in



A THIRD-RATE MAN-OF-WAR, 1738.

which were placed the hammocks of the sailors as further protection against shot. The tops were now of semi-circular form and the back only was defended by a netting. They were used for fighting from, as we see in the account of Nelson's death.

Early in the eighteenth century the "candlestick arrangement" of the little mast on the bowsprit disappears, leaving a survival only in the little jackstaff on which floats the Union Jack on a modern battleship.

As an extension of the bowsprit, the jib-boom was added, admitting of a further spread of canvas. The forward part of the old mizen was cut off, leaving for a time the forward end of the yard idle ; afterwards this too was removed, and this remnant of the old lateen sail only needed the addition of a boom below to constitute what has since been the spanker.

The ornamentation of the hull was less regarded until finally in the last days of the sailing navy it consisted of a very slight amount of carving, painted white. The sides, which for two centuries had been usually painted in yellow timber-colour and black, were now painted in white streaks running round the ship the height of the gunports, which were black like the rest of the hull.

A traveller who visited Portsmouth in 1788 has given us some interesting glimpses of a battleship of that time. He says : " After dinner we went aboard the *Barfleur* lying in the harbour, which afforded us much amusement and instruction, besides the pleasure of calling to mind that glorious action on April 12, when amongst the rest of our captures from the French, she received the vanquished colours of the *Ville de Paris*, under the command of Lord Rodney, and her immediate excellent admiral Sir Samuel Hood. She is an excellent ship of 90 guns, and three decks, the handsomest and most complete man-of-war here in commission. The sight was truly novel and pleasing, particularly in the lower deck, amidst a crowd of three or four hundred men, women, and children enlivening the scene with their various culinary and other occupations. The clearing out the large soup coppers was very entertaining ; for this purpose two men were naked in the inside, scrubbing away with great labour, in a situation necessarily very hot from the close adjacent fire. The cock-pit underneath this belongs to the midshipmen, and a most terrible berth it is, entirely

below the surface of the water and entirely secluded from every ray of light or breath of air, save what the faint candles and small orifice of a low door will admit. Well may these inferior officers be sighing and hoping for an active war, that may either provide them with a glorious death, or reward their courage and endeavours with a superior station. The admiral's cabin is in the middle deck,



A THREE-DECKER OF NELSON'S TIME.

made in every respect handsome and agreeable ; besides the comfort of being less liable to noise and motion than above or below. In the upper deck are the mess-rooms and berths for the lieutenants, etc., and a show-room, in which is displayed a neat armoury, in miniature ; this is under the care and management of the first lieutenant, who has his berth here. The guns which stand in the portholes of each deck have been lately improved with

Sir Charles Douglas's invention of a lock to fire them with, instead of the old method of a match : by which means the man who performs this part in an action is less liable to the danger of the gun's recoiling, or the ball of an enemy through the port-hole ; as the swivel used to the trigger admits his standing on one side to draw it. The view from the quarter deck was enchanting ; surrounded with innumerable objects of a similar kind ; fifty sail of the line from 74 guns to 100, besides every possible variety of inferior sizes ; such a collection as no one part of the whole world can show besides. While to the south, half way across to the Isle of Wight, Spithead displayed other vast ships nobly to our delighted eye, near which we could plainly distinguish the three masts of the unfortunate *Royal George* rising several feet above the water, the body being buried below."

During the eighteenth century the frigate and the corvette, which differed from ships of the line in size and armament, played a great part both in naval warfare and privateering adventures. Other vessels which first made their appearance in this period are the brig, schooner, sloop and cutter.

By the time of Nelson the English sailing ship had almost reached perfection as to build and general efficiency. Later developments have been in the direction of substituting metal wherever possible, and the adoption of labour-saving devices. Four- and even five-masted iron ships have been built, and the introduction of steam has not by any means put an end to the process of change and development which we have traced through the centuries.

THE VOYAGE OF OHTHERE

880 A.D.

This account of the voyage of Ohthere the Northman was written down by King Alfred the Great. This quaint translation was made about 1598 for Hakluyt's *Voyages*. Longfellow composed a well-known poem on the subject, in which are these verses :—

Hearty and hale was Ohthere,
His cheek had the colour of oak ;
With a kind of laugh in his speech,
Like the sea-tide on a beach,
As unto the King he spoke.

And Alfred, the King of the Saxons,
Had a book upon his knee,
And wrote down the wondrous tale
Of him who was first to sail
Into the Arctic Sea.

OHTHERE said that the country wherein he dwelt was called Helgoland. Ohthere told his lord King Alfred that he dwelt furthest north of any other Norman. He said that he dwelt towards the north part of the land towards the west coast ; and affirmed that the land, notwithstanding it stretcheth marvellous far towards the north, yet it is all desert and not inhabited, unless it be very few places, here and there, where certain Finns dwell upon the coast, who live by hunting all the winter, and by fishing in summer. He said that upon a certain time he fell into a fantasy and desired to prove and know how far that land stretched northward, and whether there were any habitation of men north beyond the desert. Wherefore he took his voyage directly north along the

coast, having upon his steerboard always the desert land, and upon the leerboard the main ocean, and continued his course for the space of three days. In which space he was come as far towards the north as commonly the whale-hunters use to travel. Whence he proceeded in his course still towards the north so far as he was able to sail in other three days.

At the end whereof he perceived that the coast turned towards the east, or else the sea opened with a main gulf into the land, he knew not how far. Well he wist and remembered that he was fain to stay till he had a western wind, and somewhat northerly; and thence he sailed plain east along the coast still so far as he was able in the space of four days. At the end of which time he was compelled again to stay till he had a full northerly wind, for so much as the coast bowed thence directly towards the south, or at leastwise the sea opened into the land he could not tell how far; so that he sailed thence along the coast continually full south, so far as he could travel in five days; and at the fifth day's end he discovered a mighty river which opened very far into the land. At the entry of which river he stayed his course, and in conclusion turned back again, for he durst not enter therein for fear of the inhabitants of the land; perceiving that on the other side of the river the country was thoroughly inhabited.

This was the first peopled land that he had found since his departure from his own dwelling, whereas continually throughout all his voyage, he had evermore on his steerboard a wilderness and desert country except that in some places he saw a few fishers, fowlers and hunters, which were all Finns; and all the way upon his leerboard was the main ocean. The Biarwes had inhabited and tilled their country indifferent well, notwithstanding he was afraid to

go upon shore. But the country of the Terfinns lay all waste and not inhabited, except it were, as we have said, whereas dwelled certain hunters, fowlers, and fishers. The Biarwes told him a number of stories both of their own country and of the countries adjoining. Howbeit, he knew not, nor could affirm anything, for certain truth, for as much as he was not upon land nor saw any himself. This only he judged, that the Finns and Biarwes speak but one language.

The principal purpose of his travel this way was to increase the knowledge and discovery of these coasts and countries, for the more commodity of fishing of horse-whales (walruses), which have in their teeth bones of great price and excellency : where of he brought some at his return unto the King. Their skins are also very good to make cables for ships, and so used. This kind of whale is much less in quantity than other kinds, having not in length above seven ells. And as for the common kind of whales, the place of most and best hunting of them is in his own country : whereof some be 48 ells of length and some 50, of which sort he affirmed that he himself was one of the six, which in the space of three days killed three score. He was a man of exceeding wealth in such riches wherein the wealth of that country doth consist.

At the same time that he came to the King he had of his own breed 600 tame deer, of that kind which they call reindeer : of the which number six were stall reindeer, a beast of great value, and marvellously esteemed among the Finns, for that with them they catch the wild reindeer. He was among the chief men of his country ; and yet he had but twenty kine and twenty swine, and that little which he tilled, he tilled it all with horses. Their principal wealth consists in the tribute which the Finns pay them, which is all in skins of wild beasts, feathers of

birds, whalebones, and cables, and tacklings for ships made of whales' or seals' skins. Every man payeth according to his ability. The richest pay ordinarily fifteen cases of martens, five reindeer skins, and one bear, ten bushels of feathers, a coat of a bear's skin, two cables, three-score ells long apiece, the one made of whaleskin, the other of sealskin.

He said that the country of Norway was very long and small. So much of it as either beareth any good pasture or may be tilled, lieth upon the sea coast, which notwithstanding in some places is very rocky and stony; and all eastward, all along against the inhabited land, lie wild and huge hills and mountains, which are in some places inhabited by the Finns. The inhabited land is broadest towards the south, and the further it stretcheth towards the north it groweth ever smaller and smaller. Towards the south it is, peradventure, three-score miles in breadth, or broader in some places; about the midst thirty miles or above, and towards the north, where it is smallest, he affirmeth that it proveth not three miles from the sea to the mountains. The mountains be in breadth of such quantity as a man is able to travel over in a fortnight, and in some places no more than may be travelled in six days. Right over against this land, on the other side of the mountains, somewhat towards the south, lieth Swethland, and against the same, towards the north, lieth Kwenland. The Kwens sometimes passing the mountains, invade and spoil the Normans: and on the contrary part, the Normans likewise sometimes spoil their country. Among the mountains be many and great lakes in sundry places of fresh water, into the which the Kwens use to carry their boats upon their backs overland, and thereby invade and spoil the country of the Normans. These boats of theirs be very little and very light.

ALFRED AND THE DANES

A.D. 876

IN this year the army went from Repton ; and Halfdan went with a part of the army into Northumbria, and took winter-quarters by the river Tyne ; and the army subdued the land, and often harried on the Picts and on the Strathclyde Welsh ; and the three kings, Guthorm, Oskytel and Amund, went from Repton to Cambridge with a large army, and remained there a year. And in the summer King Alfred went out to sea with a naval force, and fought against the crews of seven ships, and took one of them, and put to flight the others.

A.D. 877

In this year the army stole away to Warehæm, a fortress of the West Saxons ; and after that the King made peace with the army ; and they gave to the King as hostages those who were most honourable in the army, and they then swore oaths to him on the holy ring, which before they would not do to any nation, that they would speedily depart from his kingdom ; and notwithstanding this, the mounted body stole away from the army by night to

A.D. 878

In this year the army came to Exeter from Wareham ; and the naval force sailed west about ; and then a great storm met them at sea, and there perished a hundred and twenty ships at Swanwick. And King Alfred with his

force rode after the mounted army as far as Exeter, but could not overtake them before they were in the fastness, where they could not be come at. And they there gave him as many hostages as he would have, and swore great oaths, and then held good peace.

A.D. 879

In this year, after Twelfth night, the army stole away to Chippenham, and harried the West Saxons' land, and settled there, and drove many of the people over sea, and of the remainder the greater portion they harried and the people submitted to them, save the King Alfred, and he with a little band withdrew to the woods and moor fastnesses. And in the same winter the brother of Ingvar and Halfdan was in Devonshire with twenty-three ships, and he was there slain, and with him 840 men of his force. And there was the standard taken which they call the Raven. And the Easter after, Alfred, with a little band, built a fortress at Athelney and from that camp warred in the evening. Then the men of Somerset and Wiltshire and Hampshire joined him and rejoiced to see him, and they drove the army away and took hostages. And King Guthorm came to Alfred, with thirty of his chiefs; and he received baptism at Wedmore and stayed twelve nights with Alfred.

A.D. 880

In this year the army went to Cirencester from Chippenham and stayed there a year. And in that year a body of Vikings assembled, and settled at Fulham on the Thames.

A.D. 883

In this year King Alfred went out to sea with ships, and fought against four ship-crews of Danish men, and took two of the ships, and the men were slain that were

therein. And two ship-crews surrendered to him, and they were sorely fatigued and wounded before they surrendered.

A.D. 886

In this year the army separated into two. One part went to Rochester and besieged the city, and built another fortress around themselves, but they, nevertheless, defended the city until King Alfred came with his force. Then the army went to their ships, and abandoned the fortress, and they were there deprived of their horses, and withdrew over sea. And Alfred sent a naval force from Kent to East Anglia. As soon as they came to the mouth of the Stour, there met them sixteen ships of Vikings, and they fought against them and captured all the ships, and slew the men. When they were returning home with the booty, a great naval force of Vikings met them, and these fought against them on the same day, and the Danes gained the victory.

A.D. 887

In this year Alfred restored London. And all the Angles turned to him who were not in the bondage of the Danes; and he then committed the city to the keeping of the alderman Ethered.

A.D. 892

In this year three Scots came to King Alfred in a boat without any oars, from Ireland, whence they had stolen away, because they desired, for love of God, to go on pilgrimage, they cared not where. The boat in which they came was made of two hides and a half, and they took with them food enough for seven nights; and on the seventh night they came to land in Cornwall, and then went straightways to King Alfred. They were named Dubslane, Maccbethu and Maclinnum.

A.D. 895-6

This year, before winter, the Danes who had settled in the Mersey towed their ships up the Thames, and then up the Lea, where they built a fortress. In the summer after, a great number of the townspeople and of other folk went to this Danish fortress and were there put to flight, and four King's thanes slain. Afterwards during harvest, the King encamped in the neighbourhood of the town, while the people reaped their corn, so that the Danes might not deprive them of their crop. Then one day the King rode up by the river, and observed where the river might be obstructed so that the Danes could not bring out their ships. And they did so, building two structures on the two sides of the river. When they had begun the work and had encamped thereby, the army perceived that they could not bring out their ships. So they abandoned them and went overland until they arrived at Quatbridge in the Severn, where they built a fortress. Now the King's force rode west after the army, and the men of London brought away the ships, and all those they could not bring off they broke up, and those that were stalworth they brought into London.

A.D. 897

In this year the armies from the East Angles and the Northumbrians harassed the west Saxons' land on the South coast very much : most of all by the long ships (*æscas*) which they had built many years before. Then King Alfred commanded long ships to be built against them, which were full nigh twice as long as the others ; some had sixty oars, some more ; they were both swifter and steadier and also higher than the others ; they were shaped neither as the Frisian nor as the Danish, but as it seemed to himself that they might be most useful.

There on a certain time in the same year there came six ships to Wight, and did there much evil, also in Devon and elsewhere on the sea shore. The King commanded his men to go thither with nine of the new ships, and they blockaded the mouth into the outer sea. They then went with three ships against them, and three lay high up in the mouth, in the dry ; the men were gone on shore. They took two of the three ships at the outward mouth and slew the men, and the other ship escaped with all her crew slain but five, who came away because the ships of the others were aground. They were aground very inconveniently ; three were aground on the side of the deep on which the Danish ships were aground, and all the others on the other side, so that not one of them could get to the others. But when the water had ebbed many furlongs from the ships, the Danes went from the three ships to the other three which had been left by the ebb on their side, and they fought there. There were slain of the Frisian and English sixty-two, and of the Danes a hundred and twenty. But the floodtide reached the Danish ships before the Christians could shove theirs out, and they therefore rowed away out ; they were then so damaged that they could not row round the South Saxons' land. The sea cast two of them ashore, and the men were led to the King at Winchester, and he had them hanged there ; and the men in the other ship came to East Anglia sorely wounded. In this summer no less than twenty ships, with men and everything, perished on the South coast.

A.D. 901

In this year died Alfred, six nights before All-hallow-mass. He was King over all the Angle race, except the part that was under the Dominion of the Danes, and he held the Kingdom a year and a half less than thirty winters.

THE WAR-FRENZY OF THE VIKINGS

WHEN Hakon the Laugher saw the islanders coming out of the west in their birlinns, he called to his Vikings : " Now of a truth we shall hear the Song of the Sword."

The ten galleys of the Summer-sailors¹ spread out in two lines of five boats, each boat an arrow-flight from that on either side.

The birlinns² came on against the noon. In the sun-dazzle they loomed black as a shoal of pollack. There were fifteen in all, and from the largest, midway among them, flew a banner. On this banner was a disc of gold.

" It is the banner of the Sunbeam ! " Shouted Olaf the Red, who with Thorkel the One-armed was hero-man to Hakon. " I know it well. The Gael who fight under that are warriors indeed."

" Is there a saga-man here ? " cried Hakon. At that a great shout went up from the Vikings : " Harald the Smith ! "

A man rose among the bow-men in Olaf's boat. It was Harald. He took a small square harp, and he struck the strings. This was the song he sang :

Let loose the hounds of war,
The whirling swords !

¹ Summer-sailors : Vikings. The practice of confining expeditions on the Atlantic to the summer was maintained until modern times. Sir Cloudesley Shovel said that an admiral who kept his fleet out after October deserved to be shot.

² Birlinns : large barges used by chieftains in the western islands of Scotland.

Send them leaping afar,
Red in their thirst of war ;
Odin laughs in his ear
At the screaming of the swords !

Far let the white ones fly,
The whirling swords !
Afar off the ravens spy
Death-shadows cloud the sky.
Let the wolves of the Gael die
'Neath the screaming swords !

The Shining Ones yonder
High in Valhalla
Shout now, with thunder,
Drive the Gaels under,
Cleave them asunder,—
Swords of Valhalla !

A shiver passed over every Viking. Strong men shook as a child when lightning plays. 'Then the trembling passed. The mircath, the war-frenzy, came on them. Loud laughter went from boat to boat. Many tossed the great oars, and swung them down upon the sea, splashing the sun-dazzle into a yeast of foam. Others sprang up and whirled their javelins on high, catching them with their mouths : others made sword-play, and stammered thick words through a surf of froth upon their lips. Olaf the Red towered high on the steering-plank of the *Calling Raven*, swirling round and round a mighty battle-axe : on the *Sea-Wolf*, Thorkel shaded his eyes, and screamed hoarsely wild words that no one knew the meaning of. Only Hakon was still for a time. 'Then he, too, knew the mircath ; and he stood up in the *Red Dragon* and laughed loud and long. And when Hakon the Laughter laughed, there was ever blood and to spare.



BOARDING THE VIKING GALLEYS



THE WAR-FRENZY OF THE VIKINGS 59

The birlinns of the islanders drove swiftly on. They swayed out into a curve, a black crescent in the blue meads of sea. From the great birlinn that carried the Sunbeam came a chanting voice :

Oh, 'tis a good song the sea makes when blood is on the wave,
And a good song the wave makes when its crest of foam is red !
For the rovers out of Lochlin the sea is a good grave,
And the bards will sing to-night to the sea-man of the dead !

Yo-ho-a-h'eily-a-yo, eily, ayah, a yo !
Sword and Spear and Battle-axe sing the Song of Woe !
Ayah, eily, a yo !
Eily, ayah, a yo !

Then there was a swirling and dashing of foam. Clouds of spray filled the air from the thresh of the oars.

No man knew that he still lived while the birlinns bore down upon the Viking galleys. Crash and roar and scream, and a wild surging ; the slashing of swords, the whistle of arrows, the fierce hiss of whirled spears, the rending crash of battle-axe and splintering of the javelins ; wild cries, oaths, screams, shouts of victors, and yells of the dying ; shrill taunts from the spillers of life, and savage choking cries from those drowning in the yeast that bubbled and foamed in the maelstrom where the war-boats swung and reeled this way and that ; and, over all, the loud death-music of Hakon the Laugher.

Olaf the Red went into the sea, red indeed, for the blood fell about him as a scarlet robe. Thorkel One-Arm fought, blind and arrow-sprent, till a spear went through his neck, and he sank among the dead. Louder and louder grew the fierce shouts of the Gael ; fewer the savage screaming cries of the Vikings. 'Thus it was till two galleys only held living men. The *Calling Raven* turned and fled, with the nine men who were not

wounded to the death. But on the *Red Dragon* Hakon the Laugher still laughed. Seven men were about him. These fought in silence.

Then Toscar mac Aonghas, that was leader of the Gael, took his bow. None was arrow-better than 'Toscar of the Nine Battles. He laid down his sword, and took his bow, and an arrow went through the right eye of Hakon the Laugher. He laughed no more. The seven died in silence. Swaran Swiftfoot was the last.

"Skoal!" he cried to the hero of the Gael, and with that he whirled his battle axe at 'Toscar mac Aonghas; and the soul of 'Toscar met his, in the dark mist, and upon the ears of both fell at one and the same time the glad laughter of the gods in Valhalla.

FIONA MACLEOD

THE VIKINGS DEFEAT THE DANES AT LONDON BRIDGE

A.D. 1014

This vivid and interesting story, which shows us the Northmen in league with the English against the Danes, is taken from the Old Norse Saga of King Olaf the Saint, who reigned from about 1015 to 1030.

KING OLAF the Saint sailed westward to England. Now it happened that at that time Swein the Danish King was in England with a Danish army ; he had seized the kingdom of Ethelred and had been settled there some time. The Danes had spread over England so widely that at length Ethelred had left the country and gone South to Flanders. The same autumn it happened that King Swein died suddenly in the night in his bed. When Ethelred heard this he returned at once to England : and no sooner had he come back than he invited all men who would enter his pay to join him in recovering the country. Many people flocked to him, and among them came King Olaf to his aid with a great troop of Northmen.

They steered first to London, and sailed into the Thames, where the Danes had a castle. On the other side of the river was a great trading place called Sudrviki (Southwark). There the Danes had raised a great work, dug large ditches, and had built inside a bulwark of stone, timber, and turf, where they had placed a strong force. King Ethelred ordered a great assault : but the Danes

defended themselves bravely, and Ethelred could make nothing of it. Between the castle and Southwark there was a bridge, so broad that two wagons could pass each other upon it. On the bridge were raised barricades, both towers and wooden parapets, in the direction of the river, which was nearly breast-high, and under the bridge were piles driven into the bottom of the river.

Now when the attack was made, the troops stood all along the river and defended themselves. King Ethelred was very anxious to get possession of the bridge, and he called together all the chiefs to consult as to how they should break the bridge down. Then King Olaf said he would try to lay his fleet alongside of it, if the other ships would do the same. So it was determined that they should lay their forces under the bridge, and they made themselves ready with ships and men.

King Olaf ordered great platforms of floating wood to be tied together with hazelbands, and for this he took down old houses; and with these as a roof he covered his ships so that it reached over the ships' sides. Under this screen he set pillars so high and stout that there was room for swinging their swords; and the roofs were strong enough to withstand the stones thrown down upon it.

Now when the ships and men were ready, they rowed up the river; but when they came near the bridge there were thrown down upon them so many stones and arrows and spears that neither helmet nor shield could withstand it; and the ships themselves were so greatly damaged that many of them retreated. But King Olaf and his fleet rowed quite up under the bridge, laid their cables round the piles that supported it, and then rowed off as hard as they could down stream. The piles were thus shaken and loosened under the bridge.

Now as the armed men stood in crowds upon the



THE VIKINGS AT LONDON BRIDGE.

bridge, and there were likewise many heaps of stones and other missiles upon it, when the piles were loosened the bridge gave way, and a great number of the men on it fell into the river, and all the others fled—some into the castle, some into Southwark, which was soon afterwards taken by storm. When the people in the castle saw that the river Thames was mastered, and that they could not hinder the passage of ships up into the country, they became afraid, surrendered the town and took Ethelred to be their King. Of this victory the poet Ottar Swarte sang :

London Bridge is broken down—
 Gold is won, and bright renown.
 Shields resounding,
 War-horns sounding,
 Hildur shouting in the din !

 Arrows singing,
 Mailcoats ringing—
 Odin makes our Olaf win !

After this King Olaf was entrusted with the defence of the whole of England, and he sailed round the land with his ships of war. He laid his ships on land at Nyamode (New Romney) and defeated the Danes. He remained in England for three years.

THE DEATH OF PRINCE WILLIAM

1120 A.D.

The loss of the white ship, by which Henry I lost his only legitimate son, was one of the saddest events in English naval history. *La Blanche Nef*, though one of the finest ships of this early period of which we have any record, was probably not so large as this account would make out. It is not probable that all the people mentioned here embarked in one ship; it is rather likely that the retinue of the royal party were distributed over other vessels which accompanied the expedition.

AFTER a successful campaign in France, happily concluded through the Pope's mediation by a peace, Henry embarked from Barfleur for England, with his son, then recently married, and in his seventeenth year. One of the finest vessels in the fleet was a galley of fifty oars called *The White Ship*, and commanded by a certain Thomas FitzStephens, whose grandfather had carried over the Conqueror when he invaded the kingdom which he had won. Upon this ground FitzStephens solicited the honour of now conveying the King, upon an occasion as much more joyful as it was less momentous. Henry was pleased with a request preferred for such a motive; and, though having chosen a vessel for himself, he did not think proper to alter his own arrangements, he left Prince William, with the rest of his family, and their friends and attendants, to take their passage in the *White Ship*; and embarking towards evening on the 25th of November, in fair weather, he sailed for England. There were with the Prince his brother Richard, and their sister the Lady Marie, Countess of Perth, Richard Earl of Chester with

his wife, who was the King's niece, and her brother the Prince's governor, and the flower of the young nobility both of Normandy and England, 140 in number, eighteen being women of the first rank : these and their retinues amounting, with the crew, to about 300 persons.

The Prince, being detained a little after his father, imprudently ordered three casks of wine to be distributed among the men : and the captain, as well as the sailors, drank, in the joy of his heart, too freely, and promised to overtake every ship that had sailed before them. Accordingly he hoisted all sail, and plied all oars. The evening had closed before they started, but it was bright moonlight ; the men exerted themselves under all the excitement of hilarity and pride and emulation, dreaming of no danger ; the captain and the helmsman, under the same excitement, were unmindful of any ; and when the ship was going through the water with all the stress of oars and sails, she struck upon a rock, called the *Catteraze*, with such violence that several planks were started, and she instantly began to fill.

A boat was immediately lowered, and the Prince was escaping in it, which he might easily have done, for the shore was at no great distance, when his sister, whom there had been no time to take off, or who in the horror of the moment had been forgotten, shrieked out to him to save her. It was better to die than turn a deaf ear to that call : he ordered the boat to put back and take her in ; but such numbers leapt into it at the same time, that the boat was swamped, and all perished. The ship also presently went down with all on board : only two persons, the one a young noble, son of Gilbert de Aquila, the other a butcher of Rouen, saved themselves : by climbing the mast, and clinging to the top, they kept their heads above water. FitzStephens rose after the vessel had sunk, and might

have taken the same chance of preservation ; but calling to mind that he had been the unhappy occasion of this great calamity, he preferred present death as the least evil. The youth became exhausted during the night ; and commending his poor companion to God's mercy with his last words, he lost his hold and sank. The butcher held on till morning, when he was seen from the shore and saved ; and from him, being the only survivor, the circumstances of the tragedy were learnt.

The tidings reached England in the course of that day ; but no one would communicate it to the King ; no one, not even those who had lost dear connexions of their own by the same awful event, could bear to witness the first emotions of his grief. Three days they persisted in thus concealing it, till the King's anxiety being at length well nigh as painful as the certainty could be, a little boy was then sent in, who, weeping bitterly, with no counterfeited passion, fell at his feet, and told him that the *White Ship*, with all on board was lost. The King, strong as he was in body and in mind, and in heart also, fainted at the shock ; and though he survived it many years, he was never afterwards seen to smile.

ROBERT SOUTHEY

COEUR DE LION'S FLEET

THE fleet with which Coeur de Lion sailed from Sicily consisted of thirteen of those large vessels called dromons ; 150 of what were then called busses ; fifty-three galleys, and a great number of small craft. The Sicilians said that so fine a fleet had never before been seen in the harbour of Messina, and probably never would again. They were amazed at the magnitude and number and beauty of the ships. The sailors, also, were what English sailors from that time have never ceased to be : in the storms which they encountered on their way to the Levant, they are said, by one who was in the fleet, to have done everything that it was possible for human skill to do.

More than any other historical character, Richard Coeur de Lion resembles a knight of romance ; and the circumstances which occurred on his way to Palestine have the air of an adventure in romance more than of authentic history, though the facts are incontestable. "He was no sooner abroad in the main sea, but a great tempest arose, wherewith his whole navy was sore tossed and turmoiled up and down the seas." The King himself was driven first to Crete, afterwards to Rhodes. Three of his ships foundered off the coast of Cyprus : three others were refused admittance into the harbours there ; they were wrecked in consequence, and the men who escaped to shore were cast into prison. The vessel with Queen Joan and the Lady Berengaria on board was driven in the same direction : they requested permission to land,

announcing who they were, and that permission was refused.

Rhodes was not so distant but that Richard heard how his people had been treated by the Cypriot Emperor (as he was styled) in time to demand redress. He made immediately for Limisso, and found his affianced wife and his sister still off the harbour. Thrice he demanded the liberation of his people, and the restitution of whatever had been saved from the wrecks : those demands proving ineffectual, he then proceeded to take the justice that was denied him, and to inflict due punishment upon the offender. Isaac had easily captured men exhausted by long struggling with tempestuous weather, and who had hardly saved their lives by swimming to shore ; but he must have been the weakest of men to think of opposing a fleet of crusaders with a host of undisciplined and half-armed Cypriots. Few of them, it is said, had any better weapons than clubs or stones ; and they thought to protect themselves with a barricade formed of logs, planks, chests, and benches, whatever could hastily be brought together.

Richard, meantime, proceeded toward the landing-place with his galleys and small boats. His archers led the way, and soon cleared it ; for their arrows are said to have fallen on the Cypriots like rain upon summer grass. The victors, " being but footmen, weatherbeaten, weary and wet," were in no plight for pursuing the routed enemy : they entered the town, and found it deserted by the inhabitants, but full of wealth and of provisions of every kind. Such of his ships as were collected then entered the port ; and Berengaria and his sister were received by Richard as a conqueror in the city where a refuge from the sea had been refused them.

During the course of the day Isaac rallied the fugitives, about six miles from the town ; and, as if he supposed

that weakness alone had withheld the crusaders from pursuing their advantage, prepared to attack them on the morrow. But Coeur de Lion allowed him no time for this. Intelligence of his movements and of his designs was easily obtained, for Isaac was a tyrant; guides also offered themselves; food, wine, and success had presently refreshed the English: long before daybreak they were armed, and in motion; and the Cypriots were taken so completely by surprise, that they were "slain like beasts." The emperor Isaac escaped, not only unarmed but half naked; so utterly had he been unprepared for such an attack. His horses, his armour, and his standard, were taken. The standard was sent to England; and when Coeur de Lion returned thither, he deposited it himself at King St. Edmund's shrine.

Terrified at this second discomfiture, Isaac now sent ambassadors, proposing to restore the prisoners whom he had unjustly captured, with all that had been saved from the wrecks; to pay 20,000 marks in amends for the loss that had been sustained by shipwreck; to accompany Coeur de Lion to the Holy Land, and serve him there with 100 knights, 400 light horsemen, and 500 well-armed foot; to acknowledge him for his sovereign lord, and swear fealty to him accordingly; and place his daughter, and heiress, as hostage in his hands. These conditions, which were, probably, more rigorous than Richard would have thought of imposing, were admitted. Isaac then came to the King of England in the field, and there, in presence of the chiefs of the crusaders, swore fealty, and promised, upon his oath thus pledged, not to depart till he should have performed all for which he had been engaged.

By this time Richard had been made too well acquainted with his character to place much reliance either upon his word or oath; tents were assigned for him and his

retinue, and a guard was appointed to keep him in custody. Offended at this, or affrighted by it, he withdrew during the night, while his guards, suspecting no such evasion, were asleep, and then sent messengers to renounce the treaty which he had made.

Richard intrusted part of his army to Guy of Lusignan and Raymond of Antioch, that they might pursue Isaac, and prosecute the conquest of the island by land ; while he with one part of his galleys, and Robert de Turnham with the other, coasted it and cut off his flight by sea. Wherever they came, the towns, cities, and castles on the coast were abandoned at their approach, and they took possession of all the shipping. Having thus swept the coast, and precluded the possibility of the emperor's escape from the island, Richard returned to Limisso, and there was married to the Lady Berengaria by one of his own chaplains ; his queen was crowned the same day by the Bishop of Evreux ; the Bishop of Bayonne, and the Archbishops of Apamea and Aux, assisting at the solemnity.

Cyprus is the first island that was ever conquered by an English fleet ; and Berengaria the only English queen whose coronation was ever performed in a foreign country.

He then moved into the interior, and completed the conquest ; he captured Nicosia the capital, and discovered Isaac hidden in a monastery. He imprisoned him for life, but made his daughter a companion to the Queen.

Coeur de Lion was detained in Cyprus only a few weeks by his marriage, the conquest, and the settlement of the island. In his way from thence to Acre, he fell in with a vessel of the largest size, sailing under French colours ; but requiring more evidence than the colours and the suspicious language of the spokesman, he soon

ascertained that it was a Saracen ship, laden with stores of all kinds for the relief of Acre, which the Christians were then closely besieging. The brother of Saladin had dispatched it from Baruk : there were seven emirs on board ; and the number of the troops has been stated by the lowest account at 650, by the highest at 1,500. They were brave men, well provided with the most formidable means of defence ; and desperate, because they knew how little mercy was to be expected from a fleet of crusaders. The size, and more especially the height of their ship, gave them an advantage which for a while counterbalanced that of numbers on Richard's part ; for his galleys could make but little impression upon her strong sides.

Richard's people, brave as they were, were daunted by the Greek fire which was poured upon them, which they had never encountered before, but of which what they had heard was enough to impress them with dread. The great dromond, as she is called, might probably have beaten off her assailants and pursued her course, if Richard's men had not dreaded their King's anger more even than the terrible fire of the enemy. " I will crucify all my soldiers if she should escape ! " was his tremendous threat. His example availed more than his threat could have done : they boarded the huge hulk like Englishmen ; and the Saracens, when they saw themselves overpowered, ran below by their commander's orders, and endeavoured to sink the ship, that their enemies might perish with them. Part of the cargo, however, was saved before she sank, and some of the crew were taken to mercy, though mercy was not the motive, for it was the chiefs, it is said, who were spared, for the sake of their ransom. If the stores and ammunition with which this ship was laden had reached Acre, it was thought that the city could never have been taken.

It appears that the ships of war at this time were all galleys; that few of them had more than two rows of oars, and many of them only one tier: these, being shorter, and moved with more facility, were used in the Levant for throwing wild fire. This composition, which the Greeks called liquid fire, and which by Latin and later historians is commonly denominated Greek fire, is said to have been invented by Callinicus, an architect of Heliopolis (afterwards called Balbec), about the latter part of the seventh century; and it continued in use some six hundred years, till the more destructive powers of gunpowder were applied to the purposes of war. The invention proceeded from the school of Egyptian chemistry; for Callinicus was in the service of the caliphs, whence he went over to the Greek emperor, expecting, perhaps, a better reward for his discovery from the government to whom it would be most useful. Constantinople, was, indeed, saved by it in two sieges; Saracen fleets were deterred from attempting to pass the straits of the Hellespont, when they knew that their enemies were prepared with it; and while the Greeks kept the secret of the composition to themselves, as they did most carefully for four centuries, they possessed a more efficient means of defence than any other people.

When the Pisans were at the height of their naval power, the emperor Alexius sent out a fleet against them, in which, as it appears, for the first time, lions' heads of bronze were fixed at their ships' prows, and from their open mouths this liquid fire was discharged in streams. This he devised as being likely to terrify as well as to astonish them; but the composition was, no doubt, sent with surer effect from movable tubes. The commander who led the way in this action wasted his fire; another officer, when in great danger, extricated himself by its use, and burnt four of the enemy's ships; and the

Pisans, who saw that the fire spread upwards, downwards, or laterally, at the will of those who directed it, and that they could not by any means extinguish it, took to flight.

The Greek fire was forced in its liquid state from hand engines, or thrown in jars ; or arrows were discharged, the heads of which were armed, more formidably than their own barbs, with tow dipped in this dreadful composition. During the crusades, the Saracens became possessed of the secret : whether they discovered it, or it was betrayed to them, is not known ; but they employed it with terrible effect ; and the crusaders, who feared nothing else, confessed their fear of this. At this time it was employed on both sides.

The only description of a naval action in those ages which explains the system of naval tactics relates to the siege of Acre, in which Richard was engaged. The crusaders drew up their fleet in the form of a half moon, with the intent of closing upon the enemy if he should attempt to break their line. Their best galleys were placed in the two ends of the curve, where they might act with most alacrity, and least impediment. The rowers were all upon the lower deck ; and on the upper the soldiers were drawn up in a circle, with their bucklers touching each other. The action began with a discharge of missile weapons on both sides ; the Christians then rowed forward with all stress of oars, endeavouring, after the ancient manner, to stave in their enemies' sides, or otherwise run them down : when they came to close quarters, they grappled ; skill then was no longer of avail, and the issue depended upon personal strength and intrepidity.

The treasure or the blood which Coeur de Lion expended in this crusade, would neither have been spared if he had remained in Europe, nor expended to any better purpose : he would have been engaged in wars little less

murderous ; not so much in consequence of his own disposition, warlike as that was, as because of the spirit of the age and his relative position toward France. He returned from Palestine without effecting the great object of his crusade ; that object, if it were attainable, had been frustrated by the conduct of the French king. But he made an honourable peace with Saladin, and left an honourable name in the East, not for himself alone, but for his nation.

The atrocious acts of barbarity which he had perpetrated there, were regarded, in the Mahommedan world, as ordinary affairs in war, rendering him terrible at the time, but not hateful afterwards. Even in Europe it was not till nearly our own days that the recital of such actions excited horror and indignation. Richard Coeur de Lion was extolled by Pope Celestine for his humility, his justice, his moderation. Even the people from whom the heavy costs of the expedition were raised, and who were afterwards taxed to redeem him from his iniquitous imprisonment by the Duke of Austria, took a generous pride in the splendour of his exploits, and were grateful to him for the renown which he had added to the English name. His flag had been planted on the walls of Messina. He had beaten the misbelievers wherever he had encountered them. He had conquered the kingdom of Cyprus and given it to the dethroned King of Jerusalem. He became immediately, and has continued to be even to these times, the hero of popular romances ; and with his expedition to Palestine it is that the respect which has ever since been paid to the English flag originated.

ROBERT SOUTHEY

DE BURGH'S VICTORY OFF DOVER

1217

No English monarch ever ascended the throne under more inauspicious circumstances than Henry the Third. He was only ten years of age ; his capital and part of his dominions were in the hands of a French prince ; and many of the most powerful of his subjects adhered to the foreign invader. The custody of the young King was entrusted to William, Earl of Pembroke, the Marshal, with the title of Guardian of the Kingdom, whose abilities, fidelity and prowess justified the confidence reposed in him.

In May, 1217, the decisive battle of Lincoln destroyed the hopes of Prince Louis, and of the English barons who had confederated with him. Soon after their discomfiture, the French fleet, which was coming to their assistance, was completely defeated ; an event of the greatest interest, for it was the first regular sea-fight worthy of the name between the ships of England and France, and the precursor of that long series of victories which constitute the naval glory of Great Britain.

The only naval matters mentioned before that memorable engagement are, that, soon after Henry's accession, the King's men of Ireland, who were with the ships on the coast of Normandy, were directed to come in his service to Winchelsea ; and that, on the 23rd of July, 1217, the Sheriff of Devonshire was commanded

to provide ships at the King's cost, to convey Isabel, the widow of King John, so that she might pass honourably to her own country.

As soon as the news of Louis' defeat at Lincoln reached France, Robert de Courtenay collected an army for his assistance, which embarked at Calais in a fleet of eighty ships besides galleys and smaller vessels, under the command of the famous Eustace the Monk; and on the 24th of August they put to sea, intending to proceed up the Thames to London.

Hubert de Burgh, the King's Justiciary and Governor of Dover Castle, impressed with the necessity of preventing this formidable force from landing, immediately took measures for that purpose. Addressing the Bishop of Winchester, the Marshal, and other great personages, he said, "If these people land, England is lost; let us therefore boldly meet them, for God is with us, and they are excommunicate." His ardour was not, however, shared by his audience, who replied, "We are not sea-soldiers, nor pirates, nor fishermen: go thou and die." Not discouraged by this answer, De Burgh sent for his chaplain, and having hastily taken the sacrament, he with an emphatic oath thus enjoined the garrison to defend their post: "Ye shall suffer me to be hanged before ye surrender the Castle, for it is the key of England." Affected to tears by the exhortation, and still more by the fate which seemed to await their chief, they pledged themselves to obey his commands. Another writer gives rather a different account: he states that when the French fleet were seen by the people of the Cinque Ports, knowing it to be commanded by Eustace the Monk, they said, "If this tyrant land, he will lay all waste, for the country is not protected, and our King is far away. Let us therefore put our souls into our hands, and meet him while he is at sea, and help

will come to us from on high." Upon which some one exclaimed, "Is there any among you who is ready to die for England?" and was answered by another, "Here am I." The first speaker then observed, "Take with thee an axe, and when thou seest us engaging the tyrant's ship, climb up the mast, and cut down the banner, that the other vessels may be dispersed from the want of a leader." Sixteen large and well-armed ships, manned with skilful seamen belonging to the Cinque Ports, and about twenty smaller vessels, formed the English squadron. Assembling some of the bravest of his knights, among whom were Sir Philip d'Albini, Sir Henry de Turberville, Sir Richard Suard, and Sir Richard, a son of King John, De Burgh led them to the ships, and immediately put to sea.

The enemy were at some distance from Calais when the English sailed; but all the accounts of the engagement are defective in nautical details, while the few that do occur are very obscurely expressed. It appears that the wind was southerly, blowing fresh; and that the French were going large, steering to round the North Foreland, little expecting any opposition. The English squadron, instead of directly approaching the enemy, kept their wind as if going to Calais; which made Eustace, the French commander, exclaim, "I know that these wretches think to invade Calais like thieves, but that is useless, for it is well defended!" As soon as the English had gained the wind of the French fleet, they bore down in the most gallant manner upon the enemy's rear; and, the moment they came close to the sterns of the French ships, they threw grapnels into them, and, thus fastening the vessels together, prevented the enemy from escaping—an early instance of that love of close fighting for which English sailors have ever since been distinguished.

The action commenced by the cross-bow men and archers under Sir Philip d'Albini pouring volleys of arrows into the enemy's ships with deadly effect ; and, to increase their dismay, the English threw unslaked lime, reduced to a fine powder, on board their opponents, which, being blown by the wind into their eyes, completely blinded them. The English then rushed on board ; and cutting away the rigging and haultards with axes, the sails fell over the French, to use the expression of the chronicler, "like nets upon ensnared small birds." Thus hampered, the enemy could make but a feeble resistance ; and, after an immense slaughter, were completely defeated.

Other narratives supply a few additional details. The English ships, it is said, kept their wind, instead of advancing at once toward the French fleet, from natural hesitation to attack so greatly superior a force ; but animated by recollecting the recent affair of Lincoln, "in which a few had vanquished great numbers," they determined to give them battle. Though the French fought with great bravery, very few among them were accustomed to naval tactics ; and they fell rapidly under the lances, axes and swords of their assailants.

In the meantime many of their vessels had been sunk by the galleys, which, running their iron prows into them, stove their sides. Disdaining to be taken alive, or, as the chroniclers more probably state, dreading to fall into the hands of the English—for it was the custom to treat prisoners with great severity, that they might be induced to pay exorbitant sums for their ransom—several of the French knights leapt into the sea. Of their whole fleet, only fifteen vessels escaped ; and, as soon as the principal persons had been secured, the English took the captured ships in tow. They thus proceeded in triumph to Dover ; and, while "victoriously

ploughing the waves" they returned thanks to God for their success, an example of religious gratitude after a battle which has been so properly followed on many occasions in modern times.

It was the first object of the victors to find Eustace the Monk, and a strict search being made, he was discovered hidden in the hold of one of the prizes. His offer of a large sum of money for his life, and his promise to serve the King of England faithfully in future were alike disregarded. To his other crimes he added that of treason to King John; and Sir Richard, the son of that monarch, seizing him, exclaimed, "Base traitor, never shall you again seduce any one by your fair promises!" and, drawing his sword, struck off his head, which was afterwards exhibited on a pole throughout England.

The battle was seen with exultation by the garrison of Dover Castle; and the conquerors were received by the bishops and clergy in full sacerdotal habits, bearing crosses and banners in procession, and chanting thanksgiving and praises for their unexpected success. "The spoils of the ships, which consisted of gold, silver, silk vestments, and weapons of all kinds, having been collected, and the prisoners, who were loaded with heavy chains, disposed of, Sir Philip d'Albini dispatched an account of the victory to the King, who glorified God for the success He had vouchsafed to his arms." Besides Robert de Courtenay, William de Baris, Ralph de Tornellis, and other distinguished persons, the English captured one hundred and twenty-five knights and more than a thousand soldiers of inferior rank. The loss sustained by the English is nowhere mentioned, but it does not appear to have been great.

Upon the preceding statements it is unnecessary to make many comments. Though the ships, compared

with those of the present age, were small, yet the mode of attack, the bravery displayed, and the great superiority of the enemy, render the event worthy of the first place in the list of our naval victories. It was actually a hand-to-hand fight against double the number of ships and probably four times the number of men, for the French vessels were filled with troops; and more than one-sixth of their fleet was captured or destroyed. To national courage was united considerable professional skill, for the enemy's force must have been known to De Burgh and his companions before they embarked; and their appearing to steer for Calais was no doubt a stratagem to gain the wind of their opponents, and not the effect of hesitation to attack them. This, together with the manner in which the French were rendered comparatively powerless by causing the sails to fall over them, reflect infinite credit on the English, and affords another proof that superiority in numbers often avails little against skill and intrepidity.

SIR N. H. NICOLAS

THE BATTLE OF LARGS

1263

This account is translated from the Saga of King Hakon Hakonsson, who reigned in Norway from 1217-63. Finding that he was losing his hold on the western islands of Scotland, he made an expedition to assert his authority. The fight here described took place at Largs, within a short distance of the present city of Glasgow, and does not appear to have been decisive.

IN the autumn King Hakon lay in the Cumbraes—Michaelmas was then on a Saturday. But the Monday night after came a violent storm, with hail and tempest. Before day they who kept watch at the moorings of the King's ship called out that a bark was driving on the cables forward. Then the men jumped up hastily and tore down the awnings and clad themselves. The stay of the bark caught the figurehead of the King's ship, and carried away the beaks. After that the bark drifted aft along the sides till her anchor fouled and caught the cable of the King's ship. Then the anchor began to drag, so the King bade them cut the cable of the bark's anchor. She then drove out on to the isle, but the King's ship held the ground, and they lay without awnings till daybreak. In the morning, when the tide flowed, the bark floated, and then she drifted up on to the Scottish coast.

The wind began to grow all at once. Their ground tackle then stood those who had it in good stead. The fifth anchor was then cast from the King's ship, but

the King got into a boat and rowed out to the isle, and let a mass be sung to him. But the ship drove on into the Sound. Then the sheet-anchor was taken and laid out, but she still drove. Some five ships drove up on to the coast. Then they held on by their anchors on all the ships, and on the King's ship too: she was then riding on seven anchors, and the eighth, which had fouled the bark's cable.

Most men said that witchcraft must have brought about this storm. Then all those ships which had driven on shore held on by their anchors; but three of them were driven altogether on shore, and they suffered the greatest hardships.

When the Scots saw that the ships were drifting on shore, they gathered them together and fared down on the Northmen and shot at them. But these defended themselves and let the bark shelter them. Sometimes the Scots came on and sometimes they fell off. A few men fell, and many were wounded. Then King Hakon sent a force to the shore in some boats, for the weather had slackened a little.

Afterwards the King went out to his ship in a swift vessel manned by his pages, together with Thorlaug the Hot. As soon as the King's men got ashore the Scots fled inland. The Northmen were on shore that evening and that night, until it drew towards day. Then all the Northmen went into the merchantman. As soon as it was day, men clad themselves on board the King's ship, and took their weapons, and so in the other ships, and rowed to land. The Scots had come to the bark, and taken such of the goods as they could get at. A little after King Hakon came on land, and with him some of the liegemen and much folk. Then the King made them strip the bark and bear her cargo into boats, and carry it out to the ships.

When the bark was all but cleared, the host of the Scots was seen, and most thought that the King of Scots himself must be with them, for the host seemed great. Ogmund Crow-dance was on a hillock and some following of men with him, and the Scots who came up first made a sham attack on them. When they saw that the main battle was drawing near, men begged the King to get into a boat and row out to the ships, and send them much more force. The King offered to be on land with them, but they would not bring him into such risk; so he put off in a boat, and rowed out under the isle to his force. Among the liegemen who were on land were Ogmund Crow-dance, Andrew Pot, and Andrew Nicholas' son. There were near sixty men from the King's ship, and at their head was Andrew Clubfoot. And by the reckoning of most men there were in all eight or nine hundred of the Northmen on land. Nigh two hundred men were up on the hillock with Ogmund, but the other force stood down on the shingle. Then the Scottish host began to draw near, and it was a very great host. It was the reckoning of some men that they numbered five hundred knights, but others said something less. Their force was very well equipped, with mail-clad horses, and many Spanish steeds all covered with armour. The Scots had a great host of footmen, but that force was badly equipped: they most of them had bows and Irish bills.

The Northmen who were on the hillock dropped down toward the sea, so that the Scots should not hem them in. Then Andrew Nicholas' son came up on the hill, and asked Ogmund if he did not think it wiser to go down to the shingle to the force that was there; and that advice was taken. Andrew bade his men go down, but not to hurry like runaways.

Then the Scots came on fast, and pelted them with

stones, and a great shower of weapons fell upon the Northmen. The latter fell back facing the enemy and shielded themselves. But when they came as far as the brow of the descent which went down from the hillock, then each tried to run faster than the others. And when those who were down below on the shingle saw that, they thought that the Northmen wanted to flee.

Then the Northmen ran to their boats, and in that way some of them put off from the land and came out to the ships. Andrew Pot leaped over two boats and into the third, and so escaped; but most of the boats sank, and some men were lost. Many Northmen ran under the lee of the bark, and some got up into her. When the Northmen came down from the hillock into the dell between it and the shingle, most of them took to running. But some one called out to them to turn back, and some men turned, though only a few. One of the King's bodyguard, Hakon of Stein, fell there.

The Northmen still ran away; but when they got down on to the shingle some one again called to them to turn back, and again a few turned. That was south of the shingle beyond the longship which had drifted on shore. Two of the Northmen fell there. Those who had turned back could do nothing but keep on the defensive, and so they fell back until they came north round the longship. There they found some force of the Northmen, and they all shared in the fight together.

Then there was a hard battle, but still a very unequal one, for there must have been ten Scots to one Northman. There fell a young man of the Scots named Perus: he was come of the best families, and was the son of a powerful knight, and rode more boldly than any other knight. Men fell on both sides, but more of the Scots.

While the battle lasted, there was so great a storm that King Hakon saw no way of getting his force on land. But Rognvald and Eilif of Nautsdale rowed in a swift boat to the land. Eilif got on shore in a boat, but Rognvald was driven out back to his ship. Eilif came to the battle with some men, and behaved very daringly, as well as those Northmen who had got into the boats and landed on the shingle. Then the Northmen began to gather force, and the Scots gave way on to the hillock, and then there was a lingering fight between them for awhile with shot and stone.

When the day was wearing away the Northmen made an onslaught on the Scots upon the hillock, and there fell on them most boldly. Then the Scots fled away from the hillock as fast as each man could to the fells. And when the Northmen saw that, they went to the boats and rowed out to the ships and got off with difficulty owing to the storm. On next morning they went to seek for the bodies of those who had fallen, and King Hakon had them borne to church. The Northmen could not clearly tell what number of their enemies fell, for the Scots took each man that fell and bore him off to the woods.

The following Thursday King Hakon had the anchors weighed, and his ship moved under the isle; and that day there came to him the host which he had sent into Shipfirth (Loch Long). The Friday after the weather improved, so the King sent his guests on land to burn those ships which had driven on shore. That same day the King sailed away from the Cumbraes and out to Malas-isle (Lamlash), and lay there some nights. Thence he sailed for home. On his way he was taken ill and died at Kirkwall in Orkney.

FIGHT IN THE CHANNEL

1293

THE first naval transaction of any moment in the reign of Edward I arose out of a quarrel between two common sailors, and led to the most important consequences. In 1293 two of the crew of an English ship, in some port of Normandy, landed to get water, and meeting with several Norman sailors, a dispute ensued which produced blows on both sides. One of the Englishmen was slain, and the other fled to his ship followed by twenty of the Normans. The vessel immediately put to sea and was pursued by many of the Norman ships. Shortly afterwards the French squadron fell in with six English ships, which they attacked, and having captured two of them, they hung their crews, together with some dogs, to the yards of the vessels. They then cruised in the Channel for some time, committing such outrages, that they "made no distinction between an Englishman and a dog." It was never in the nature of English sailors to submit to such infamous treatment; and without waiting for the approval or assistance of their sovereign, they determined to be revenged.

The four ships that had escaped were joined by many others from the Cinque Ports, and eagerly sought the enemy; but not finding them at sea, they entered the Seine, where they were discovered at anchor, and instantly attacked. A sanguinary conflict took place,

which terminated in the defeat of the French and the loss of six of their ships. Several other partial engagements occurred, attended "by great slaughter on both sides, shipwreck, and rapine—both thirsting for blood"; but no particulars are mentioned of any of these affairs. It was at length determined to try their strength in a pitched battle, on the 14th of April, at a spot mid-channel between England and France, indicated by anchoring a large and empty ship. The English enlisted the Irish and Dutch sailors in their cause, while the Normans had obtained the assistance of the French, Flemish and Genoese.

On the appointed day the two fleets, well armed, met at the rendezvous. The weather was very tempestuous: hail and snow fell heavily, accompanied by a high wind, and the chroniclers observe that the courage of the respective combatants was as unequal as the elements. The English fleet does not appear to have exceeded sixty ships, while their opponents had more than two hundred. After a desperate conflict, "Almighty God," say Knyghton and Hemingford, "was pleased to give the victory to our side": and they add, with their usual exaggeration, that "many thousands perished by the sword, beside those who went down in their ships, who were almost countless. Our men brought away about two hundred and forty ships laden with spoil."

Trivet's account is equally brief, and varies so much from that of the other writers as to make it difficult to believe that he is speaking of the same transaction. He states that the French fleet, which amounted to two hundred sail and upwards, had gone to Gascony, intending to plunder and destroy all they met with, and being, on their return, laden with wine, glorifying themselves as if the liberty of the sea belonged only to

them, were seized by sixty English ships and brought to England on the sixth feria before the eve of Pentecost, all their crews having been slain or drowned, except those who had with difficulty saved themselves in skiffs."

SIR N. H. NICOLAS

THE BATTLE OF SLUYS

1340

EDWARD sailed from the Orwell, on Thursday, the 22nd of June, "about the first hour of the day, in the name of God and St. George." On the morrow, being the eve of St. John the Baptist, they came to the coast of Flanders, about Blankenberg, and as they approached the Zwiyn, and discovered so great a number of ships that their masts and streamers made them resemble a wood, the King asked the master of his vessel what he supposed them to be. "May it please your Majesty," replied the master, "I take them to be Normans and others, sent out by the French king to rob and spoil your coasts, and to take your Majesty's person if they can: and among them I doubt not we shall find those very men who burnt your good town of Southampton, and took your two good ships, the *St. Edward* and the *Christopher*." "Ha!" said the king, "I have long desired to fight with the Frenchmen; and now I shall meet with some of them, by the grace of God and St. George; for truly they have done me so many displeasures, that I shall be revenged, an I may!"

He then commanded the Lord Reginald Cobham, Sir John Chandos, and Sir Stephen de la Burkin, to land, and ride along the shore, "to view the countenance of the enemy." They did this at safe leisure, all Flanders being then friendly to the English; and they approached near enough to see that the fleet, which they estimated at

about 400 sail, was divided into three squadrons, all riding in the harbour of Sluys : among them were nineteen ships, so large, that they had never seen so many of that size in company before, and the chief of them they recognized for the *Christopher* ; that ship having, probably, been named after the gigantic saint of romance, because of its extraordinary magnitude. Evening was beginning to close when they returned to make their report ; and therefore the King, " who would needs for the time be admiral of the fleet himself," gave orders to cast anchor, resolving to have the day before him, and to begin the fight next morning.

The place where the English were about to gain their first great naval victory was in early times the most flourishing port upon the Flemish coast. Some, indeed, have supposed that it was occupied as such by the Nervii in Caesar's time, and that the settlement which they possessed there was destroyed by Ariovistus. William of Ypres took possession of it with his band of freebooters, who are said to have been chiefly English ; and from thence he invested the adjacent country till he was driven out by Theodoric of Alsace, and, repairing to England, acquired an ill name there in the service of King Stephen. At that time the place was called Lammensvliet, from Lambert, an Englishman, who constructed the sluices there ; it was also called Port Zuin, or the south port, and this name, in the course of corruption, becoming the swine (*Het Zwijn*), still distinguishes the gulf, or inlet, which then formed a harbour capable of containing the largest vessels that were then known, though it is now so choked with sand that even the smallest craft can no longer enter. The entrance of the *Zwijn* has been called the horse-market, because, in certain winds, the sound of the waters there has been compared to the confused and irregular trampling of horses' feet.

About the year 1330 the name of the work superseded that of the engineer, and the town, which had grown up, was called Sluys. It then began to flourish under the favour of the earls of Flanders ; but Bruges would brook no rival near ; the earls had been compelled, by the merchants of that powerful city, to revoke the privileges which they had granted, which, in fact, were incompatible with the earlier city's vested rights, and which, by giving Sluys the command of the Zwiijn, placed the trade of Damme and Bruges at its mercy. These merchants were able to enforce their pretensions by that law from which there is no appeal ; and when Sluys had been granted to the Earl of Namur the men of Bruges attacked it ; defeated him and the Guelderlanders and Germans whom he had brought hither to defend it ; took the town, burnt it, and levelled it to the ground ; nor, when the inhabitants rebuilt their habitations, would they allow them to erect any works for their defence.

Many of the enemy's fleet were Spaniards from the ports in the Bay of Biscay, the seamen of that coast being renowned for their seamanship even among the hardy sailors of the north. By means of the King of Navarre, Philip is supposed to have obtained their aid. The Genoese galleys were commanded by Egidio Bocanegra, the Barbenoir, or Blackbeard, of the French, brother to the doge, and one of the best commanders of his nation by land or sea. They had taken their station there, to prevent the English from landing in the port for which they expected them to make ; and also to obstruct the succours which, from the neighbouring ports, the Flemings and Brabanters were on the alert to afford them. But Bocanegra, like a skilful seaman, was not for waiting an attack when the sun and the tide would be against them and the wind not in their favour, but for putting

out to meet the English, and so taking advantage of their own superior force.

The French Admiral, Pierre Bahuchet, is said to have opposed this ; there was a jealousy between them ; and this worse charge has been brought against him, that his ships were neither provided nor manned as they ought to have been, and that he had defrauded the King by false musters. The advice, however, was manifestly too reasonable to be rejected : and early in the morning they came out of the haven, in three squadrons, and in good order. Indeed, it was no matter of choice with them, had it been otherwise advisable to have remained there ; for the men of Bruges were in array upon the shore, ready to act against them upon any opportunity ; and they could feel little security there any longer than while they were masters of the sea.

On the other hand, Edward was so confident in the skill and courage of his men, that he disregarded the enemy's superiority in numbers. His great ships, well manned with archers, were placed in the van ; and between every two there was one with men at arms. A squadron was kept in reserve, to prevent the French from closing upon his van, and to assist wherever aid might be required. A third, in which were 500 archers and 300 men at arms, was appointed to protect the vessels where the women were aboard, whom the King is said to have " comforted all he could." Having disposed the fleet in this array, he gave orders to hoist the sails, " designing to come into a quarter wind, so as to get the advantage of the sun and the wind " ; and as he stood off with this purpose, some of the French, who were more brave than considerate, supposed that the English, seeing themselves so far inferior in force, wished to avoid an action. But when they descried the banner royal of England, they knew that no such intention was entertained ; and their

hopes were then raised the higher, thinking that so great a prize might fall into their hands.

Before the general action commenced, Bocanegra sent forth four galleys against a ship called the *Rich Oliver*, which was advanced before the others. It is one of the remarkable circumstances belonging to this action, that galleys were not employed in it according to the ancient mode of war, no attempt being made to produce any effect with their beaks. In the present instance they assailed their enemy with stones and shot from engines on all sides, so that the *Rich Oliver* sustained a great loss in men and was in great danger of being taken ; but other vessels having now the wind at will, came to the rescue in time, and the four galleys were boarded and won before the enemy could succour them.

And now the fleets met ; “ the French joining battle with many trumpets and other instruments of martial music, and the English giving altogether a mighty shout, it sounded horrible upon the waters, the shores being not far off.” At the same instant they sent a flight of arrows from their long-bows, which the French answered as liberally with cross-bow shot ; “ but the arrows did most execution by far.” . . . Then began a sore battle. The men at arms approached and fought hand to hand, for on both sides they were prepared with grappling irons, both being alike willing that strength and prowess should decide the combat ; and “ many noble deeds of arms were that day done, assailing and defending, taking and rescuing again.” The French had set the huge *St. Christopher* foremost, and the English made strenuous efforts to retake it, for they knew the King was much displeased at the loss of that good ship. So well they sped, and yet so bravely were resisted, that when they became masters, few were left alive on board to be taken to mercy. Her captain, Jan van Heyle, was one ; a Flemish gentleman,

who escaped death now, only to meet with it ere long from the hands of the populace in Bruges. 'The great *St. Christopher* was speedily manned with archers, and turned "her angry fore-deck against the Genoese."

"'This battle,'" says Froissart, "was right fierce and terrible; for the battles on the sea are more dangerous and fiercer than on the land, by reason that on the sea there is no recoiling nor flying; there is no remedy but to fight, and to abide fortune, and every man to show his prowess." The *St. Edward* also was retaken, and the *St. George*, and the *Black Cock*.

The enemy had many engines for casting stones, and they employed them with great effect: a large ship, and a galley belonging to Hull, were sunk by them, with all on board; and from a great ship which belonged to the King's wardrobe there were but two men and a woman that escaped. The battle lasted from a little before ten in the morning till seven in the evening. The first squadron of the enemy was entirely beaten; the second so sorely pressed, that the French leaped overboard to escape from the showers of arrows which were sent down on them.

When further exertion became hopeless, Bocanegra made off with his squadron. One large French ship, the *St. Jacques*, of Dieppe, thought to have carried off with her a ship of Sandwich, belonging to the Prior of Canterbury: but the Englishmen made a stout resistance; and the Earl of Huntingdon, William Clinton, coming in his vessel to their aid, the contest continued through the night; at morning they got possession of the *St. Jacques*, and found 400 dead on board. The victory was rendered more complete by the opportune arrival of part of the northern fleet, and by the aid of the Flemish small craft, which came to partake in it from all the adjacent ports.

It was the greatest victory that had ever been gained on those seas. Two hundred and thirty sail were taken ; among them the *St. Denis*, " a mighty ship." One of the French admirals fell ; Bahuchet, the other, was hung from the main-yard of his own ship, because of the enormities which he, " to say no more, had permitted at Southampton." The carnage was very great ; the largest estimate of the English loss being 4,000, the lowest on the other side 10,000 ; and this was carried by exaggeration to the number of 30,000 ; that it amounted to this on both sides, both parties seem to have agreed. Men are prone to exaggerate whatever is wonderful ; but it is a strange propensity which leads them to magnify calamities, and to suppose that the merit of a victory is enhanced in proportion to the number of mourners whom it has made. No doubt, in those days, the proportion of deaths in battle was much greater than in modern war ; they fought hand to hand, and not as with the bayonet, where the charge is almost instantly decided ; but in such close combat as called forth personal and vindictive feelings ; and the man who was not worth taking for his ransom had, it may be feared, in most cases, little chance for mercy.

The news of this great battle was conveyed to King Philip in a very different manner ; for though ill tidings too often find ready tongues, it is not when the great and powerful are to be told of their defeated armaments and baffled hopes. A court fool is said to have been made the instrument of conveying to the royal ear whatever one else feared to communicate, and what no one else could so aptly " insinuate by subtlety of covert words." Accordingly he began to rail against the English as a set of dastardly poltroons, heaping upon them those reproaches to which the King knew that of all others they were least obnoxious ; till Philip at last asked how he came to think

the English were such dastards. "Why," replied the fool, "because the faint-hearted rogues had not courage enough to jump overboard into the sea so bravely as our Normans and gentlemen of France did."

ROBERT SOUTHEY

THE SPANIARDS AT SEA

1350

IN May, 1350, orders were issued to man the King's ships. Each of these vessels was furnished with two standards and two streamers before they put to sea ; and rigging and stores, together with carpenters and other workmen, were also provided for ships, pinnaces and barges. On the 22nd of July Sir Robert Morley was re-appointed admiral of the northern fleet ; and the next day ships and sailors were directed to be arrested and sent to Sandwich. These preparations arose from the King's resolution to take vengeance on the Spaniards, whose fleet had arrived at Sluys for merchandise, and was about to return to Spain. Aware of Edward's intention to attack him, La Cerda armed his ships with every kind of artillery and missile, among which were large bars of iron, and filled them with soldiers, crossbowmen and archers. The love of glory, and the desire of punishing a perfidious enemy—perhaps the strongest of Edward's passions—determined him to take the command of his own fleet. His example was eagerly followed by the Prince of Wales and many other young warriors, who were anxious to serve in the ships, that they might add a naval wreath to the laurels which they had recently gained at Cressy.

On the 10th of August, when the King was at Rotherhithe, he issued mandates to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, stating that the Spaniards had robbed the ships and slain the subjects of England at sea, and that they had collected an immense fleet in Flanders, with

which they not only boasted that they would utterly destroy the English shipping and obtain the dominion of the English sea, but threatened to invade the realm and exterminate the people. He said that he was about to proceed against them; and the prelates were desired to cause divine service to be celebrated, processions made, and alms given, to propitiate Him upon whom victory depends.

The King proceeded to Winchelsea about the middle of August, accompanied by the Queen, and by his two sons, the Prince, and John of Gaunt, Earl of Richmond, by the Earl of Lancaster and Derby, the Earls of Arundel, Hereford, Northampton, Suffolk, and Warwick, the Lords Percy, Stafford, Mowbray, Neville, Clifford, Roos, Greystock, and Berkeley, Sir Reginald Cobham, Sir Walter Manny, Sir Thomas Holland, and Sir Robert de Namur, and nearly four hundred knights; and it is said that on no former occasion was he attended by so many great lords.

Edward embarked about the 28th of August, apparently in his favourite ship the *Cog Thomas*, and the Prince of Wales and the other great personages, with their respective retinues of men-at-arms and archers were dispersed among the other vessels. Though the Earl of Richmond, who was only ten years of age, was too young to wear armour, he would not be separated from his brother, and accompanied the Prince in his ship. To Sir Robert de Namur, a gallant young knight, son of John Count of Namur, and afterwards a knight of the Garter, the King gave the command of a ship called *La Salle du Roi* (*The King's Hall*), in which were the Royal household. No contemporary writer mentions the number of the English ships, but modern authorities state that Edward had fifty ships and pinnaces.

As soon as the King embarked he made his arrange-

ments, and explained in what manner the ships were to act and fight. Edward, who placed himself in the bow of his ship, wore a black velvet jacket and a beaver hat of the same colour, "which well became him," and he was in higher spirits than had ever been known, says Froissart, who adds, "that he was told so by those who were then with him on that day"; an important assertion, because it justifies the inference that he derived his account of the battle from those who were present. They are said to have remained three days at anchor, waiting for the Spaniards; and to beguile the time the King caused his minstrels to play a German dance which Sir John Chandos had recently introduced, and he made Chandos sing with them; but from time to time the King looked aloft at the man whom he had placed in the castle at the top of the mast, to announce the approach of the Spaniards.

Having completed their rich cargoes, and the wind being fair, the Spaniards disanchored and put to sea. They had forty large ships, all of the same class, "so strong and so handsome that it was a pleasure to look at them." Each mast, to which innumerable standards and banners were suspended, was surmounted by the usual embattled platform or top, filled with stones and flints, and protected by soldiers. In men they were very superior to the English; and they felt so confident of success that, though the English were very desirous of meeting them, the Spaniards are represented to have been still more eager for the combat.

About four o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday the 9th of August, being a few miles off Winchelsea, and the wind about north-east, blowing fresh, while Edward was amusing himself with his knights, who were happy to see him so joyful, the look-out man exclaimed, "Ho! I see something coming, which seems to be a Spanish

ship." The minstrels were instantly silenced, and the man being asked if he saw more replied, "Yes, I see two," then "three," then "four." As soon as the whole fleet became visible, he said, "I see so many, as, may God help me! I cannot count them." The King knowing that these ships must be the Spaniards, ordered the trumpets to sound, and every preparation was made for battle. If the English fleet were not at that moment under sail, it must have immediately weighed, as it is certain that the action did not take place at anchor. Edward then called for wine, and he and all his knights having drunk, they placed their bacinets¹ on their heads in readiness for the fray.

As the Spaniards had a fair wind, and their ships were large and in good trim, they might, if they had pleased, have avoided an engagement; but they were too proud and too presumptuous to do so, and bore right down upon the English in line of battle. Edward then said to the steersman of his ship, "Lay me against that Spaniard who is coming, for I wish to joust with him." Not daring to disobey the King, the sailor placed the ship as he was ordered, and the Spaniard coming swiftly before the wind, struck the King's vessel with great violence. From the concussion, the top on the mast of Edward's ship came in contact with that of the enemy, and carried away his mast, and all who were in the top were drowned. The King's vessel suffered so much from the shock that she sprang a leak, but the knights baled out the water, and concealed the circumstance from him. Edward then said: "Grapple my ship to that, for I wish to have her." His knights, however, replied, "Let her go, you shall have a better"; and she passed on. Another large ship then approached, and the King's knights having fastened his ship to her with iron chains and hooks, a hard and fierce

¹ Bacinets: small, light, steel headpieces.

fight ensued. The ardour of his retinue received fresh impulse from the sinking state of their ship ; and after a short but severe contest, they boarded and carried the enemy, throwing all who opposed them into the sea.

Edward was then made acquainted with the dangerous condition of his ship, into which the water was pouring ; and by the advice of his knights, he removed with them to his prize. Having abandoned his own ship, he proceeded in the Spanish vessel against the enemy, who fought most valiantly, and their crossbowmen greatly annoyed their assailants. Most of the other English ships had by this time found an antagonist as brave and as confident as themselves, and the battle became general. The superior size and great height of the Spanish vessels, which were manned by experienced crews, gave them much advantage in flinging stones and iron bars upon their adversaries.

The Prince of Wales and those under his command were separately engaged. His ship had long been grappled by a Spaniard, and suffered so much that many holes were made in her ; and the water rushing in, she was in great danger. Like the King's knights, those around the Prince were stimulated by that circumstance to use every effort in capturing the enemy, but they were unable to subdue her. At this critical moment, when the people in the Prince's ship were everywhere employed in baling out the water, the Earl of Lancaster came to his assistance, and attacked the Spaniard on the other side, midst shouts of " Derby to the rescue ! " Thus assailed, the enemy could make only a short, but it was a gallant resistance ; and as soon as she surrendered, the whole of her crew, according to the barbarous custom of the age, were thrown overboard, " not one being taken to mercy ! " The Prince and his followers had but just time to get on board their prize, when his own ship foundered.

Towards evening *La Salle du Roi*, commanded by Sir Robert de Namur, was attacked and chained to a large Spanish vessel; but finding, after a severe conflict, that she would not surrender, the Spaniard made all sail, and going before the wind, carried her off with him, in spite of all that her crew could do to prevent it. Passing near the King's ship, the English cried out, "Rescue *La Salle du Roi*!" but it was late, and they were not heard, or, if heard, they were not attended to. This vessel would certainly have been taken, had it not been for the wonderful gallantry of a valet of Sir Robert de Namur, called Hannekin. Seeing their imminent peril, he grasped his sword, leaped on board the Spaniard, and, running to the mast, cut the haulyards of the sail, which fell on the deck, a feat which brings to recollection the engagement off Dover in the preceding century. He then, with equal adroitness, cut four of the principal ropes or shrouds that supported the mast and sail, and thus stopped the vessel's progress. Taking advantage of the confusion produced by this circumstance, Sir Robert boarded the enemy, and attacked the Spaniards so vigorously, that they were all slain or forced into the sea, and their ship was soon taken.

After a severe action, the Spanish fleet, which had, Froissart says, "given the King of England and his people plenty to do," was entirely defeated. Twenty-four, if not twenty-six, large ships were captured, and the remainder took to flight. Edward then ordered his trumpets to sound a cessation of arms, and soon after nightfall his ships anchored at Rye and Winchelsea. The King and the Prince of Wales, with his young brother of Richmond, hastened to relieve the fears of the Queen, who was lodged in an abbey about two leagues from the coast. Her attendants had seen the battle from the hills, and when they informed her that the Spaniards had

forty large ships, she naturally felt the deepest anxiety about her husband and children. The night was spent by Edward and his knights in revelry with the ladies, and the next day, when most of the barons and knights who had shared the honour of the engagement waited upon him, he thanked them greatly for their services, and, taking their leave, they returned to their homes.

In many of its features the battle of "Espagnols sur Mer" stands unrivalled in English history. Equal valour and superior tactics have been displayed on many occasions, and the disparity of force was not so great as to impart unusual fame to the victors; but never before nor since was a sea-fight marked by circumstances of so chivalrous and remarkable a nature. Not only were the chief nobility and knights of England present, but they were led by their Sovereign and the Prince of Wales in person, who both participated so largely in the dangers of the day that they fought until their ships actually sank under them; and they preserved their lives only by conquering the enemy's vessels. Even the King's second son, though a mere child, was exposed to the perils of the day, and thus the renowned John of Gaunt—"time-honoured Lancaster"—made his first essay in arms, on that element which is the peculiar scene of British glory.

Persons of every rank emulated the heroic courage of their Princes, and the intrepid conduct of the obscure Hannekin, in saving his master's ship, will lose nothing by a comparison with any modern exploit. It was, moreover, a victory over a new enemy, for though the French navy had been often conquered, the pride of Iberia was then for the first time humbled at sea by an English fleet; and the noble title of "King of the Sea," was the appropriate reward bestowed by the people on their Sovereign for his naval triumphs.

SIR N. H. NICOLAS

ACTION WITH THE FLEMISH FLEET

1387

THE EARL of ARUNDEL, being lord admiral, was appointed to fit out a fleet : he was careful to procure good men, and went to sea as well trimmed and appointed as was possible. The number of his ships is not stated, but according to Froissart there were 500 men-of-arms on board, and 1,000 archers. The Earls of Devonshire and Nottingham were in his company, and another and more remarkable person embarked as a volunteer in this fleet, Pieter Van der Bosch, one of the most distinguished, intrepid and remorseless of the demagogues of Ghent. When that city submitted to the Duke of Burgundy, he deemed it prudent to withdraw to England, where, by John of Gaunt's means, he had a pension of 100 marks assigned him from the duties paid on the exportation of wool by foreign merchants. He was an expert seaman, and repose seems not to have suited one who had so long been accustomed to the strong excitement of revolutionary struggles.

They lay off the mouth of the Thames, "abiding their adventure" in the beginning of March, and looking for the return of the Flemish fleet from Rochelle. The merchants of that place, of Flanders, Hainault, Holland, and other countries, standing in fear of the English, consorted together before they sailed from Flanders ; and the Duke had appointed them a convoy of six galleons under his Admiral Hans Buyck, one of the best sea captains



THE FLEMISH FLEET IN SIGHT

ACTION WITH THE FLEMISH FLEET III

in those seas. They had engaged to keep company out and home, and stand by each other ; and when they had taken in their lading at Rochelle, they were joined for security by certain French and Spanish ships consigned to merchants at Bruges.

When they came opposite the mouth of the Thames, having gone so far without danger, they descried the English fleet ; and “ they in the tall ships said to their company, ‘ Sirs, advise ye well ; we shall be met by the English army : they have perceived us ; they will take the advantage of the wind and tide, and we shall have battle ere it be night.’ ” “ The tidings ” says Froissart, “ were not pleasing to some, and specially to the merchants who had their merchandise aboard ; they would gladly have been thence if they could. Howbeit, sith they saw that fight they must, and could not pass without it, they arrayed themselves thereto ; there were there, arbalisters ¹ and others all armed and defenceable, more than 700 men. And Hans Buyck, who was right sage and hardy in arms, and had done great damage on the sea to the English, he set everything in good order, and decked his ships well and wisely, as he could right well do, and said, ‘ Sirs, be not abashed : we are men enough to fight with the English army, and the wind will serve us, so that even while we be fighting we shall coast Flanders, and approach nearer and nearer to Sluys.’ Some took good comfort with these words, and some not ; so they put themselves in good order and defence, and made ready their cross-bows and their guns.”

It was on Sunday, and the eve of Lady-day (for war keeps neither holiday nor Sabbath), that the Flemish fleet had been descried far off from the mast of one of the English ships ; and the Earl of Arundel, “ greatly rejoicing at the news,” immediately put to sea. The

¹ Arbalisters : crossbow men

Flemings are described, when they approached, as making show of a determination to engage them, and the English as feigning to retire in seeming mistrust of being able to match these adversaries, who, coveting a safe passage rather than battle, passed by; but by this manœuvre the English "got the wind fit for their purpose." Their galleys came foremost with stress of oars, and the archers, with whom they were well manned, began to shoot fiercely, and lost much of their shot; for the Flemings kept under their decks, and would not expose themselves to the arrows, but drove along with the wind; and some of their cross-bowmen, who were out of the archers' reach, discharged their quarrels at advantage, so that the galleys lost many men, and were distressed; but then came up Arundel with his company, and the Bishop of Norwich with his, and the main fleet. The enemy, however, inferior as they were in force, defended themselves bravely, and with right good will, Hans Buyck demeaning himself with equal skill and courage. He was in a great strong ship, and had three cannon, which discharged such great and heavy shot, "that wherever they lighted they did great damage; and ever as they fought they drew by little and little toward Flanders; and there were some of the merchant ships that took the coast and shoal water and saved themselves where the great ships could not follow them." But the engagement was continued with great eagerness on one side, and great resolution on the other, and there were "ships broken and sunk on both parts"; for out of the tops they cast down great bars of iron, which where they fell carried everything before them down to the bottom.

This was a hard battle and well fought, for it lasted three or four hours, and when day failed they drew apart and cast anchor, and rested all night and drest their

wounded men ; and when the tide came they dis-anchored,¹ and drew up sail, and returned fiercely and resolutely to the battle. Van der Bosch, who had command there of archers as well as seamen, is said to have “ given the Flemings much to do that day, being sore displeased that they and the merchants should have resisted so long. No men, indeed, could have behaved better against such odds, but the stronger side prevailed more and more ; and when they came between Blankenberg and Sluys, near Cadsant, “ there was the discomfiture : where the Flemings, now close to their port, might have looked for succour, they found none, for there were no men-of-arms at Sluys, neither in ships nor in the town. Only the bailey of the place, Arnulf by name, got into a good bark of his own, with a few bold men of the place and twenty arbalisters, and rowed till he came to the fleets, just as the victory was completed. When he perceived this, he made his men discharge their cross-bows thrice in bravado, and was then chased into the haven with little danger to himself, his vessel being able to keep nearer the land than the English could follow him.”

Some of the Flemings got into Blankenberg, and some into Sluys ; others, which were cut off from either place, Arundel pursued for two days, till he captured them ; so that what in the battle and in the chase about 100 ships were taken. Buyck was made prisoner ; and it is more honourable to him than to the English Government, that they would consent neither to ransom nor exchange this brave and enterprising seaman. He was detained in London, as a prisoner at large, with all courtesy, under no other restriction than that of always sleeping in the city ; and there, after three years, he died. This would not have been done in the days of the Black Prince.

¹ Disanchored : weighed anchor.

Van der Bosch, whose old feelings seem to have recovered all their strength, would have had Arundel follow up his success, and make an attack upon Sluys; and Froissart says that if he had done so he would have won it, for the people of the town were greatly dismayed at the loss of the fleet, and doubted whether they should abandon the place, or go on board the ships, and defend the haven: but the English chiefs were of opinion that this would be a rash enterprise; for if they entered Sluys and got possession of it, the people of Bruges, of Damme, and of Hardenburg would besiege them there, and they might lose all that they had won. They kept off the harbour, and attempted to burn the ships that were lying there; for this purpose they took the worst of their prizes, payed¹ them well, both within and without, and set them on fire, and so let them drive with wind and tide into the port, not caring to what nation the vessels belonged which might be consumed. But the attempt altogether failed. They remained some days off the coast, landing every day, and foraging on foot for want of horses, and burning towns and villages along the coast, and sometimes entering into the country; and when they were tired of this sort of warfare, in which there was little danger and no glory, they sailed for England with their prizes.

ROBERT SOUTHEY

¹ Payed: coated with pitch.

NINO IN CORNWALL

1405

THOUGH none of the English or French chroniclers mention any other acts of hostility at sea or on the coast of England in this year, a Spanish writer who was present relates many proceedings of much importance; whence it would appear that the galleys of Castile and France attacked several places in Cornwall, Devonshire and Dorset, and had approached Southampton. It has been already stated that the French had solicited the King of Castile to assist them with some galleys against the English, and that he had complied with their request. Forty ships and three galleys in Santander were ordered to be prepared with all speed, and the command of the former was given to Martin Ruiz de Abendaño, and of the galleys to Pedro Niño, afterwards Conde de Buelna, a man of high birth, who had distinguished himself in the Mediterranean. Though directed to act in conjunction, the galleys soon separated from the ships; and Niño's proceedings, as they are related by his standard bearer, Gutierre Diez de Games, who served with him, are inferior in interest only to the animated details of Froissart.

Niño was received at Rochelle with great honour by Charles d'Albert, constable of France; and it was determined that the galleys and two French vessels should harass the English in the Gironde. Though they made no captures in the river, they committed great devastation on the shore, burnt one hundred and fifty houses

within sight of Bordeaux, and carried off everything they could lay their hands upon, and returned to Rochelle. While lying there, Sir Charles de Savoisy came into port with two beautiful galleys, which he had built at his own cost at Marseilles; and the gallant knight agreed to join Niño, and try their fortunes upon the shores of England. Coasting along Brittany in expectation of meeting the Spanish ships, they found Martin Ruiz's vessels at Brest; but he refused to concur in their plans, because they had brought merchandise in their own ships, and thought only of trading for their own profit.

In their first attempt to cross the Channel, the galleys met with bad weather, and, after great danger, were obliged to return to the French coast, on which some of the crew observed that God favoured the vile people, the English; though they comforted themselves with thinking that it was because of their own sins, and that though they were sinners, the English were worse, and, therefore, better success might be hoped for. As soon as the weather became favourable, they made the coast of Cornwall, captured some fishing-boats, obtained from the fishermen such information as they wanted, and proceeded to attack an unfortified town, which the writer calls "Chita," and describes as built on the side of a hill, with all its streets leading to the water. The place contained about three hundred houses, and was very rich, being inhabited wholly by merchants and fishermen. The entrance of the port was difficult; for the tide retired with such force that the galleys would neither answer to the oars nor rudder, till it had carried them in about the distance of a crossbow-shot, when they found themselves in a port which was safe in all winds. Here they landed, slew or captured many of the inhabitants, who made a brave resistance, plundered

and burnt the place, took two ships, and sent these with their lading and the spoils to Harfleur. No time was lost in the work of destruction ; and it was well for the assailants that they made such speed, as they themselves acknowledged, when they saw in what numbers the country-people came to assist their neighbours, and with what spirit they attacked the galleys with stones and arrows, from both sides of the mouth of the harbour, as they went out.

They then proceeded to Falmouth, where a body of men-at-arms and archers was in readiness to oppose a landing. Niño proposed to land, because it seemed to be good fighting ground, and, moreover, it was necessary to do so because they wanted water ; but Sir Charles de Savoisy was of opinion, that, considering the disparity of their own numbers with those whom they saw drawn up to resist them, the attempt ought not to be hazarded. A mistake on the part of the French, that this was the place where du Chatel had been defeated and slain, had its effect in deterring them this day ; and warm words ensued between De Savoisy and Niño ; but when the latter had given up his intended enterprise, the mutual regard they entertained for each other, and the sense of their common interest, soon reconciled them. They stood out to sea that night, being in fear of meeting an English fleet ; and on the morrow turned back along the coast till they came to Plymouth. A good town it was at that time, and with a good fortress, where there was no landing against the will of the inhabitants, except at some distance from the place which, if attacked from the land side, was not strong. It stood upon the banks of the river, about a gunshot from the sea, and there was a bridge of boats laid across the river, like that at Seville, some seven or eight barks sufficing. There were many vessels lying there, which, upon sight

of the Spaniards, drew up to the bridge. The Spaniards and French entered the river, hoping to capture, or at least set fire to some of these, but such a fire was opened upon them from the town, that they found it necessary to make off with all speed, lest the galleys should be sunk. On this occasion a stone is said to have been projected to twice the height of a tower, and to have fallen into the sea half a league off.

Their next attempt was upon the Isle of Portland, where they landed in the hope of carrying off some cattle, and what other booty they could find. The islanders, who were few and ill-armed, saw the galleys in time to retire into the caves, which they had converted into places of security. The marauders made but few prisoners, and were soon recalled by sound of trumpet to their vessels; for the tide having gone out, archers and men-at-arms were hastening thither from the mainland. Before they withdrew, the French set fire to some of the houses; but the Spaniards took no part in this, and prevented their friends from doing more mischief in this way, because the people were poor, and it was their captain's will that they should never thus make war against the weak. When the two commanders saw that they could not prevent succour from entering the island, they landed to support their men, and there was sharp-shooting from the archers on one side, and the arbalisters on the other, arrows falling as thick as snow, till night came on, and the invaders re-embarked.

From thence they coasted on, landing for wood and water, carrying off cattle, and burning the houses and the standing corn, till Niño learned that he was not far from Poole. "This place," says the writer, "belongs to a knight called Henry Pay, who scours the seas as a corsair, with many ships, plundering all the Spanish and French vessels that he could meet with. This

Henry Pay came often upon the coast of Castile, and carried away many ships and vessels ; and he scoured the channel of Flanders so powerfully that no vessel could pass that way without being taken. He burnt Gijon and Finisterre, and carried off the crucifix from Santa Maria de Finisterre, which was famous for being the holiest in all these parts (as in truth it was, for I have seen it) ; and much more damage he did in Castile, taking many prisoners, and exacting ransoms ; and though other armed ships came there from England likewise, he it was who came oftenest." Niño no sooner heard that he was near Pay's place of abode, than he determined to return the visits which that corsair, as he deemed him, had paid to the Spanish coast. Accordingly they entered the harbour, and came at daybreak in sight of Poole. The town was not walled, and had a handsome tower with a cupola. The French commander thought it would be rash to attempt a landing ; and when the Spaniard persisted in his purpose, De Savoisy forbade any of his people to land with him. The Spaniards landed under the command of Niño's kinsman, Fernando Niño, with orders not to encumber themselves with plunder, but to plant their banner before the place, and set the houses on fire. One large building was maintained awhile against them ; but when, after a stout resistance, they forced an entrance, the defenders escaped at the back part ; and here the invaders found arms and sea-stores of all kinds : they carried off what they could, and then set the storehouse on fire.

By this time the English had collected in some force archers and men-at-arms ; and having put themselves in array, they came so near that it might well be seen, says Gutierre Diez, who was of a ruddy complexion, and who of a dark one. They had taken the doors out of the houses, which they contrived by means of supports

to place before them as pavises,¹ to protect them against the crossbow-shot. Under this cover the archers kept up a brisk discharge, with such effect that the bowmen dared not expose themselves while they stooped to charge their bows. Many were wounded, and those whose armour protected them are described as fledged with arrows. Niño, seeing his people in danger, and that they were beginning to fall back, landed with the rest of his men; and the French, notwithstanding their previous determination, then hastened with all speed, like brave men, to support him. He set up the cry of "Santiago! Santiago!" and the English, who fought well, were at length compelled to retreat, leaving among the slain a brother of Pay, a gallant man-at-arms, who distinguished himself by his great exertions before he fell.

With a total disregard of geography, Niño says "they went up the Southampton river and came in sight of London, which stands about two leagues from the open sea, a great river, called the Thames, coming from the north, encompassing the place on which it stands, and on the other side is the Isle of Wight." Near the Isle of Wight they found a Genoese carrack which the English had captured; and they would have brought it off, but it had no sails. They were then about to burn it, when the Genoese came off to them in a boat, and representing themselves as friends to the King of Castile, said their carrack had been taken, though it was provided with the King of England's safe-conduct; and that they were now making suit for its restitution, wherefore they prayed that it might be left unhurt. This reasonable request was granted. The galleys then made for the Isle of Wight, where they landed, but, after some skirmishing, found it necessary to re-embark, and then returned to France. SIR N. H. NICOLAS

¹ Pavises : shields ; see Introduction, on pavisades.

THE BATTLE OF HARFLEUR

1415

BEDFORD sailed for Harfleur early in August, but part of his vessels were forced by contrary winds and stormy weather into the Camber. The ships at length reunited and anchored off Beachy Head; and the wind having become favourable, the fleet weighed and arrived at the mouth of the Seine, in the evening of Friday, August 14. The Duke's ship anchored for the night; and he caused lights to be hoisted to indicate his position to the fleet. Information was then brought to the prince, by small rowboats, of the force and situation of the enemy's fleet; and he resolved to attack it on the following day. Orders were accordingly sent to all the captains, that, as soon as he set his sail in the morning, all the ships should do the same, and follow him toward the enemy.

With the dawn of August 15 the French fleet appeared in sight. Divine service having been performed on board the English ships in the best manner it could be done, they weighed, made sail towards the enemy, and prepared for battle. The French, no less eager for the conflict, advanced boldly in their "sea-castles" to meet their adversaries. From the distance between the two fleets, calms, or light winds, or from these causes combined, it was not until about nine o'clock that the action began. The large, or, as one of the chroniclers calls them, alluding to their fore and stern castles, the "turreted ships," then came violently into contact,

and their crews fastened them to each other by cables, chains and hooks. As on previous occasions, the height of the Genoese carracks afforded them great advantage over the low-built English ships; and it is said that the people on their decks could hardly reach the soldiers in those lofty vessels with their lances. The conflict was very severe: fighting hand to hand, or, to use the words of a contemporary writer, "man to man, lance to lance, arrow to arrow, dart to dart, stone to stone, iron masses to lead," success depended entirely upon courage and physical strength; and in such contests the English have almost always been victorious. After a sanguinary action of five or six hours some of the French ships were carried by boarding; on seeing which, the other vessels endeavoured to separate themselves from their opponents, and such as succeeded hoisted their sails and took to flight.

Three great carracks and many smaller vessels, with all their crews, were captured, and a hulk was sunk. The remainder of the French fleet escaped into Honfleur, whither the English were prevented from pursuing them, on account of the sands and other dangers on the coast. The largest of the carracks, which one writer says was called, from her size, and, probably, also from her colour, the *Mountnegrie*, and which is said by another writer to have been called the *Mother of All*, in her efforts to escape struck upon the sands and foundered. A carrack which had been driven about some days before the battle, drifted from her anchors, and was likewise wrecked. Fifteen hundred of the French were killed, and about four hundred made prisoners; while the English did not lose more than one hundred men. For some days the corpses of the slain were seen floating on the sea, "as if they were seeking for other burial than that of the fishes."

None of the English chroniclers, except Hardyng (whose account cannot be relied on), gives any idea of the force of the fleets ; and, though cannon had become a common implement of war it is nowhere said that guns were used in the action. The French writers give a few additional particulars of the engagement ; and admit that their fleet was completely defeated. Monstrelet briefly observes that the Duke of Clarence (not Bedford) sailed from Sandwich with three hundred vessels full of English, whom he led to Harfleur and destroyed the French navy under the command of the Constable of France. St. Remy says that four carracks ran away ; that the other ships were captured ; that Sir John de Braquemont, the son of the Admiral of France, was slain, and that the Bastard of Bourbon was made prisoner and brought to England. Des Ursins states that the French had nine large ships in the action, but that they had not half men enough ; that part of their crews were Genoese crossbow-men ; that the Viscount of Narbonne, the Lords Montenay and Beaumamoir, and the Bastard of Bourbon were in the fleet ; that they found the English in fine order and condition ; that two of the French ships were taken, and two foundered, and that the remainder proceeded to Brest. The archbishop consoles himself for the discomfiture of his countrymen by observing that, if the English had the honour, they lost many men.

No English person of rank is known to have fallen ; nor has an especial commendation of the merits of any individual been found, except of Lord Morley, who, as will afterwards be stated, died before he returned to England.

The action was fought in sight of the garrison of Harfleur, and, when the Duke of Bedford proceeded to land the provisions and stores, the enemy's galleys came

between the harbour and the fleet to prevent his doing so ; but the Duke, with some small rowing vessels, drove them into Honfleur. As soon as the stores were sent on shore, the Duke re-embarked and returned with his prizes to England, where a most gracious reception awaited him.

SIR N. H. NICOLAS

CABOT AND EASTERN TRADE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

DURING the latter half of the Middle Ages the Italian republics were the recognized middlemen for the transport of the silks, spices and groceries of the East to the marts of Western Europe. In this traffic the rôle played by Venice was by no means a minor one. Indeed, in the year 1317 that Republic established a regular service of galleys between the Adriatic and the Low countries. "The track of the Flanders galleys," says Mr. Rawdon Brown, "seems with little variation to have taken the following course. In the first place they made for Cape d'Istria, then passed on to Corfu, Otranto, Syracuse, Messina, Naples, Majorca, the principal ports of Spain and Morocco, and then Lisbon. On reaching our coasts they generally repaired to Camber before Rye, or the Downs, where they parted company, those destined for England proceeding to Sandwich, Southampton, St. Catherine's Point, or London, creating in our English marts as great a sensation as ever did the arrival of the Indian fleet at Calcutta." By means of these galleys the ginger of Malabar and the clove of Ternate, the cinnamon of Ceylon and the nutmegs of Malacca, the camphor of Borneo and the aloes of Socotra, not to mention the china-ware from China, found their way into English homes. "Even in the earliest days," continues Mr. Brown, "the Flanders galleys did not exclusively engross the maritime trade with England.

Vessels belonging to private Venetian merchants were occasionally to be seen at other ports, as for instance Boston, Sandwich and Margate, and a considerable number of Venetian merchants always resided in London."

Although at first one or two brawls took place, yet on the whole matters went smoothly, and in 1414 King Henry V threatened with imprisonment any one who did not pay his debts to the Venetians. In the *Libel of English Policy* of the year 1436, one reads how

The grete galees of Veneces and Fflorenc
Be wel ladene wyth thynges of complacence,
Alle spicerye and of grocers ware,
Wyth swete wynes, alle manere of chaffare ¹
Apes, and japes,² and marmusettes ³ taylede.

In the summer of 1436, "by reason of the extraordinary insult perpetrated by the citizens of London," whose leaders seem to have been "certain artificers and shopkeepers," the Italian merchants living in England met together, and after consultation determined for their personal safety and the security of their property to leave London. They selected Winchester for their asylum, and stipulated among themselves that none should trade with London or even go there. They also insisted on having a judge appointed at Winchester to decide any litigation which might arise. Although we have no definite account of the cause of these troubles, they seem to have been partly brought about by the debts which the London factory had incurred. On December 1, 1457, the Venetian Senate decreed the payment of all arrears, whereupon matters seem soon to have resumed the normal tenor of their way.

¹ Chaffare : goods. ² Japes : trinkets.

³ Marmusettes : small monkeys.



A VENETIAN MERCHANT GALLEY IN THE ENGLISH CHANNEL.

Among the Italians interested in this Eastern trade was Giovanni Caboto, who, though he had been born in Genoa, applied in the year 1461 for permission to settle in Venice that he might avail himself of the facilities for trade enjoyed throughout the Levant by citizens of that republic. Venice, indeed, at one time or another had had factories in most of the principal cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. Corfu, Athens, Crete, Cyprus, Tyre, Sidon, Aleppo, Antioch, Damascus, Constantinople, Trebizond, Alexandria, and Cairo, had seen Venetian warehouses set up in their midst, and even at that date Venice possessed important establishments at the two great *termini* of the routes from China and the East, at Alexandria and at La Tana.

La Tana, which was situated at the point where the River Don enters the Sea of Azof, was in close communication viâ that river and the Volga with Astrakhan on the Caspian Sea, which was itself the terminus of the caravan route from China through Turkestan. By this route Venice received the glass and china-ware which came from those remote regions. Astrakhan also carried on a large trade with Persia, the silks of which country enjoyed an excellent reputation. Moreover, the spices and precious stones of India were also brought to Astrakhan, viâ the Persian Gulf. One can easily understand, therefore, that La Tana was an important centre of trade for Venice.

The Venetian colony at Alexandria, which was the other terminus of the Eastern trade, is mentioned as early as the ninth century. In the latter half of the fifteenth century, Venice possessed two factories at Alexandria as well as a church and a public bath especially set aside for the exclusive use of Venetians. The goods handled here were the drugs and spices from the Molucca Islands, and the precious stones and gems

of India. These goods were brought in native boats to Calicut on the west coast of India, whence they were transhipped into Moorish vessels and carried into the Red Sea. A caravan route led thence to the Nile, down which they were transported in lighters to Alexandria.

In the earliest period these spices and drugs were brought to Aidab; but in the thirteenth century a change was made, probably on account of the dangerous nature of the navigation of the Red Sea. The goods were henceforth unloaded at Aden. Marco Polo tells us that "this Aden is the port to which many of the ships of India come with their cargoes; and from this haven the merchants carry the goods a distance of seven days farther in small vessels. At the end of those seven days they land the goods and load them on camels, and so carry them a land journey of thirty days. This brings them to the river of Alexandria (the Nile), and by it they descend to the latter city. It is by this way through Aden that the Saracens of Alexandria receive all their stores of pepper and other spicery; and there is no other route equally good and convenient."

About the year 1421, however, on account of the annoyances and impositions to which they were subjected by the Sheik of Aden, the Moors engaged in the Indian trade looked about for a fresh port. After several trials they selected Jiddah, the port of Mecca on the Red Sea, which thenceforward took the place of Aden. This step greatly increased the commercial importance of Mecca, so that in addition to being a great shrine for pilgrims it now became also one of the most important commercial centres of Asia. Caravans made their way thither direct from Cairo and from Damascus, and since others came from Persia and Astrakhan as well as from the Persian Gulf, Mecca soon became the great transfer mart for eastern and western goods.

As soon as Giovanni Caboto had put down his name as an aspirant to Venetian citizenship he seems to have made use of the right which this enrolment gave him to visit the chief centres of Venetian trade in the Levant. Among these was La Tana. Although he probably visited the Venetian factory there, he does not seem to have pushed on any farther in that direction. It was otherwise, however, when on a visit to Alexandria. Intercourse with Jiddah and Mecca had then become so easy that Cabot soon made up his mind to make the journey to the latter city. In what year this was done we do not know.

Mecca at that time, as we have seen, was one of the most extensive marts in the East. Cabot may have made his way thither in the caravan direct from Cairo or have gone viâ the Nile, the Red Sea and Jiddah. Varthema, who visited Mecca in 1503, tells us that it was "most beautiful and very well inhabited" and contained then about 6,000 families. "The houses are extremely good, like our own, and there are houses worth three or four thousand ducats each." He found there in May, 1503, "a marvellous number of strangers and peregrynes, or pilgrims : of the which, some came from Syria, some from Persia, and others from both the East Indies, that is to say, both India within the river of Ganges, and also the other India without the same river," by which he means our Siam and China. "I never saw in any place," he continues, "greater abundance and frequentation¹ of people." With regard to trade : "From India the greater, which is both within and without the river of Ganges, they have pearls, precious stones, and plenty of spices ; and especially from that city of the greater India which is named Bangella (Bengal), they have much gossampyne² cloth

¹ Frequentation : concourse. ² Gossampyne : cotton-like fibre.

and silke . . . and therefore we must need confess that this city is a famous mart of many rich things whereof there is great plenty." In the lower part of the Temple were to be seen "a marvellous multitude of men; for there are five or six thousand men that sell none other things than sweet ointments, and especially a certain odoriferous and most sweet powder, wherewith dead bodies are embalmed. And from hence all manner of sweet savours are carried in manner into the countries of all the Mahumetans. It passeth all belief to think of the exceeding sweetness of these savours, far surmounting the shops of the apothecaries."

Cabot's experience must have been very similar. What interested him especially, however, was the region where the spices grew. He had "studied the sphere," as the saying went, and was anxious to locate thereon the country whence these precious articles were brought. He proceeded to question on this point those who were in charge of the spice caravans from the East. They told him that personally they did not know where the spices grew. They themselves were in the habit of receiving them from other caravans that in turn had brought them from a very long distance. These latter had received them again from others coming from still more remote regions. This account, which to our modern eyes describes the long caravan route from China to Mecca viâ Turkestan, Astrakhan and Damascus, seems to have set Cabot thinking. It appeared to him clear that since the men in the East affirmed to the men who came to Mecca that the goods were brought to them from still farther eastward, the spices must grow on the very north-eastern confines of Asia. Would it not be possible, then, instead of conveying them thus by land across almost three-quarters of the earth's surface, to bring them direct by sailing-ship from the extreme

eastern coast of Asia to the western countries of Europe ? The idea at any rate seemed a sound one and of sufficient importance to receive further investigation and reflection.

On his return to Venice, and for some years afterwards, Cabot seems to have pondered carefully over this matter. Gradually, in the course of his numerous voyages from Venice to Alexandria and in other parts of the Mediterranean, he had acquired considerable skill as a navigator. Would it not be possible then to offer his services at some western port of Europe and find merchants willing to entrust him with a vessel in which to attempt to reach Asia ?

How many years Cabot debated these questions we do not know. All that the documents tell us is that on March 28, 1476, he was fully naturalized a Venetian citizen. Since the Flanders galleys still continued to make their almost yearly voyage to England, and as that country lay in the same latitude as the north-eastern corner of Asia, the idea seems to have suggested itself of making his way to England. The facilities were indeed so great that Cabot at length decided to transport himself and his family to London. Once in England he would try and secure a vessel in which to sail to Asia, and thereby open a new and more direct route for the introduction of spices into Europe.

In England, or rather in London, where John Cabot first took up his residence with his wife and his sons Lewis, Sebastian and Sancio, he found himself by no means among strangers. The Italian colony in England at that time was, in fact, a considerable one. We have already seen that it was not small in 1456, when the Italians in London removed for a time to Winchester and asked for a judge of their own. Toward the close of the century there had been a fresh influx of Italians.

H. P. BIGGAR.

CABOT'S FIRST VOYAGE TO THE NEW WORLD

1497

CABOT thus found in England a state of affairs by no means unfavourable to Venetians. In the matter of a route to Asia by the west he must soon have learned that matters were further advanced than he could have supposed. Attempts had in fact begun to be made to discover the islands which were thought to lie between Ireland and the eastern coast of Asia. Among the principal of these was the island of Brazil, which had been placed on medieval maps to the west of Ireland as early as the year 1339. To find this island two ships, one being of eighty tons burden, had set sail from Bristol in the middle of July, 1480, but after beating about the Atlantic for several months they had been forced to return without having sighted land of any sort.

Cabot seems to have soon heard of this attempt and to have heartily encouraged fresh ones. Under his direction renewed efforts were made to find not only this island of Brazil but also that of the Seven Cities, where, according to tradition, an archbishop and six bishops had fled for refuge with their flocks at the time of the Arab invasion of Spain. Sometimes one, sometimes two, sometimes three, and sometimes even four vessels were now sent out year after year from Bristol under Cabot's direction to find this island of Brazil and that of the Seven Cities, which should but form the first stopping-places on the

new route to the coast of Asia where grew the spices Cabot had seen at Mecca. Each autumn, however, the vessels returned with the same tale : no land of any sort had been sighted.

Suddenly in the summer of 1493 news was brought to England that another son of Genoa, Christopher Columbus, had made his way in the same direction with three Spanish ships and had finally discovered the islands and mainland of Asia. The excitement everywhere was intense. At the English Court the discovery of this new route to the spice-land by the west was declared to be a thing more divine than human. Cabot and his English merchant friends at Bristol were also greatly impressed. They had now tangible proof that their own efforts had at any rate been in the right direction. Although they had already spent considerable sums of money to no purpose, it is possible that on the receipt of this news a fresh expedition was sent out in the summer of 1494 or 1495. This met, however, with no better success than the previous ones. The ardour of the merchants now began to flag. Though Columbus had found land in the region of the equator there seemed no reason to think it necessarily extended northward.

Cabot himself on the contrary seems never to have lost courage, and since local aid could no longer be counted upon, he turned to the King. It happened that in the winter of 1495 and 1496 King Henry VII paid a visit to Bristol with his court. Cabot doubtless seized this occasion to set forth his plans to that monarch in some detail. The result was that on the fifth of March, 1496, letters patent were issued whereby King Henry VII granted to his "well-beloved John Cabot, citizen of Venice, to Lewis, Sebastian and Santius, sonnes of the said John. . . full and free authority, leave and power to saile to all parts, countries and seas of the East, of the West, and of the

North, under our banners and ensignes, with five ships of what burthen . . . soever they be, and as many mariners or men as they will have with them in the sayd ships, upon theyr owne proper costs and charges, to seeke out, discover, and finde whatsoever isles, countries, regions or provinces of the heathen and infidels . . . in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have beene unknowen to all Christians." They were to set up the King's "banners and ensignes in every village, towne, castle, isle or maine land of them newly found." "Of all the fruits, profits, gaines and commodities growing of such navigation," they were bound "as often as they shall arrive at our port of Bristoll, at the which port they shall be . . . holden only to arrive," the necessary expenses first deducted, "to pay unto us in wares or money the fift part of the capitall gaine so gotten." All the goods thus brought were to be allowed to pass the customs at Bristol free of duty; and no one might visit the regions newly discovered, "without the licence of the foresayd John and his sonnes." Although the King had given no direct pecuniary aid he had invested Cabot with the absolute monopoly of trade to the new regions, and since the latter were supposed to be the home of the spices, the profits that would be reaped therefrom would be immense. Had not Columbus indeed already returned to Spain a second time with gold and tropical merchandise?

Cabot at once set to work to prepare for a fresh expedition under his new powers. Whether, however, it was the protest of the Spanish ambassador, or the war with Scotland that delayed him we do not know, but in any case he was not able to set sail until the spring of 1497. On Tuesday the second day of May of that year John Cabot finally left Bristol on board a vessel called the *Mathew* with a crew of only eighteen



CABOT SAILING WESTWARD.



men, among whom were probably included one or two of his sons.

Rounding Ireland, they first of all headed north and then west. After several weeks of variable winds they must finally have reached the region of fogs. 'This naturally cast a damper over their spirits, as it does to-day over those of any one who stands on the foredeck of a steamer and peers out over the dark waters which surround one on every side. 'They must indeed have felt that their small craft was but "a nutshell on the wide waste of waters." 'They courageously kept on, however, and were finally rewarded with the glad cry of "land ahead" at five o'clock on Saturday morning, June 24. After being fifty-two days at sea they had reached the most westerly point of our Cape Breton island. 'The royal banner was unfurled, and when the ship's boat grounded her keel on the beach, perhaps of Mira Bay, John Cabot stepped ashore, and in solemn form took possession of the land in the name of King Henry VII. 'They saw no inhabitants, but found certain snares set for game and a needle for making nets. 'They also noticed that the trees thereabout were notched, so judged that the country was inhabited. 'The soil they found to be excellent and the climate a temperate one. 'They were therefore fully convinced they had reached that part of the extreme eastern coast of Asia whence came the Brazil wood and the silks Cabot had seen at Mecca. 'To our present Cape Breton they gave the name "Cape Discovery," and on it, as was then the custom, they set up a large cross with both the arms of England and also of Venice, Cabot's own country. As the day was the feast of St. John the Baptist, our Scatari Island, which lies off Cape Breton, was called "St. John's Island."

How long Cabot spent there we do not know. No doubt a good supply of wood and of fresh water was taken

on board before any new move was made. During this operation the rise and fall of the tide on the coast was noticed to be very slight. They seem next to have set sail north along Cape Breton island, and on catching sight of our Cape Ray, which is most conspicuous, to have named it "Cape St. George." They doubtless took Cabot Strait simply for a deep bay, as it long continued to be represented.

Since their provisions were none too plentiful, should the return voyage take as long as the one coming out, they determined to forgo further discovery and to return home as quickly as possible. Coasting along the southern shore of Newfoundland, they gave names to various capes and notable points that struck the eye. Our St. Pierre and Miquelon, which then formed with Langley three separate islands, were named "The Trinity" group, but they did not land, as time was precious. Somewhere about here they came upon immense schools of codfish, which were so crowded together that to catch them the sailors had merely to lower baskets overboard with a stone in each and haul them up again full of fish. Our present Cape St. Mary, off which they evidently arrived on Saturday, the first of July, they christened "Cape St. John," as that day was the octave¹ of John the Baptist's festival, and also of the saint after whom Cabot himself was named. Cape Race, which was the last land seen as they set sail for home, they named most appropriately "England's Cape."

The return voyage was performed without difficulty, since the prevailing winds in the North Atlantic are from the west, and on Sunday, the sixth of August, the *Mathew* dropped anchor once more in the harbour of Bristol. John Cabot hastened to Court, and on the following Thursday, August 10, received a grant of £10 from King Henry VII

¹ Octave: the eighth day after the festival.

as a reward of having "founde the new Isle." According to Cabot's report he had discovered, 700 leagues from England, the eastern coast of Asia or the country of the Great Khan. Although silk and Brazil wood were to be found at that spot, it was his intention on his next voyage to proceed on down that coast until he came opposite Cipango or Japan, then placed in the equatorial regions, which in his opinion was the country whence came all the spices and precious stones he had seen at Mecca. Once he had opened commercial intercourse with those people, he would be able to make London a greater centre for the spice-trade than was then Alexandria itself.

King Henry VII was delighted, and promised to give Cabot in the following spring a fleet of ten ships in which to make his way to the spice region. Meanwhile Cabot received a pension of twenty pounds a year, which for those days was a large sum.

H. P. BIGGAR

CABOT'S SECOND VOYAGE TO THE NEW WORLD

1498

EARLY in May, 1498, the Cabots were at length able to set sail. They had two ships provisioned for one year and some three hundred men. As it was well known that they were going to take the route viâ Iceland, in their company "sayled also out of Bristowe three or foure small ships fraught with sleight and grosse merchandizes, as coarse cloth, Caps, Laces, points¹ and other trifles" which "dyvers merchauntes as well of Londone as Bristowe aventurede."

On leaving the Irish Sea they set their course north-west for Iceland, "not expecting," adds Sebastian Cabot, "to find any other land than that of Cathay, and from thence to turn toward India." Soon they encountered bad weather, which so disabled one of the merchant ships that she had to seek refuge in Ireland. The rest of the fleet proceeded on its way. On reaching the parallel of 58° they headed west and continued to follow it for some time in that direction. This is still the route taken by vessels bound for Greenland.

Frobisher, who made Greenland from the Orkneys in 1577, describes his voyage thus: "Keeping our course West North-west by the space of two dayes, the winde shifted upon us so that we lay in traverse on the seas, with contrary windes, making good (as neere as we could) our

¹ Points: hooks or catches for hose.

course to the westward, and sometime to the northward, as the winde shifted. And hereabout we met with 3 saile of English fishermen from Iseland, bound homeward, by whom we wrote our letters unto our friends in England. We traversed these seas by the space of 26 days without sight of any land, and met with much drift wood, and whole bodies of trees. We sawe many monsterous fishes and strange foules, which seemed to live onely by the sea, being there so farre distant from any land. At length God favoured us with more prosperous windes, and, after wee had sayled foure dayes with good winde in the poop, the fourth of July, the *Michaell* being formost a head, shot off a peece of Ordnance and stroke all her sayles, supposing that they descryed land, which by reason of the thicke mistes they could not make perfit; howbeit, as well our account as also the great alteration of the water, which became more blacke and smooth, did plainly declare we were not farre off the coast. Our Generall sent his Master aboard the *Michaell* to beare in with the place to make prooffe thereof, who descryed not the land perfect, but sawe sundry huge Illands of yce, which we deemed to be not past twelve leagues from the shore, for about tenne of the clocke at night . . . the weather being more cleare, we made the land perfect. . . . And the heigth being taken here, we found our selves to be in the latitude of 60 degrees and a halfe, and were fallen with the southermost part of this land. This (Greenland) sheweth a ragged and high lande, having the mountaines almost covered over with snow amongst the coast full of drift yce, and seemeth almost inaccessible. . . . It extendeth . . . to the northward very farre as seemed to us."

The experience of the Cabots in 1498 must have been very similar. Although they had headed along the fifty-eighth parallel, they were carried day by day by the Gulf

Stream farther north. Finally they came upon the east coast of Greenland a little above Cape Farewell. Since the man who had first told them of this land was João Fernandes, named the "Labrador," they called the land the "Labrador's Land." Finding the coast to run north and south, they were at first greatly displeased but decided to follow it northward in the hope of finding a passage to the East. As they made their way north the cold greatly increased on account of the numerous large icebergs met with. These, as is well known, are brought down the east coast of Greenland by a current from the polar seas. Frobisher thought it "a marvellous thing to behold of what bignesse and depth some Islands of yce be here, some seventie, some eightie fadome under water, besides that which is above, seeming Ilands more than halfe a mile in circuit. All these yce are in tast fresh, and seeme to be bredde in the sounds thereabouts, or in some lande neere the pole, and with the winde and tides are driven alongst the coastes."

Cabot and his men were struck by the length of the day in these high latitudes as well as by the clearness of the nights, "so that," says Peter Martyr, "they had in a manner continual daylight." Now and then they noticed spots along the coast which were free from ice and snow. Greenland, in fact, is almost completely covered with a great sheet of ice and snow called the "Inland ice." Only the highest peaks and here and there a spot along the shore are free from this all-invading ice-blanket.

Throughout the early part of the month of June they continued to make their way northward along this desolate coast. Gradually, however, the cold became more intense and the icebergs so numerous and so large that further progress seemed impossible. They were indeed in the very track of the largest ice-floes from the Arctic seas. They noticed that they had also a strong current

against them. As a result of these obstacles, on June 11, in latitude $67^{\circ} 30'$, the crews became mutinous and refused to proceed. The cold was so intense, the icebergs so thick, the navigation so difficult, and the region so wild and desolate that further progress in that direction seemed madness. Instead of coming upon a passage or a strait, they found the land to be bending more and more toward the east. Thus, notwithstanding that the sea still lay open before them, they turned and headed back along the same coast.

Although this desolate Labrador's Land was clearly not Cathay, yet by following the coast steadily to the south, they were bound in time to come to the region explored in the previous summer. Farther south still they would probably reach Cipango and the spice region.

They at length reached a point where the coast they had been following again began to run north. How far they followed the west coast of Greenland it is difficult to say. It is possible that they now made their way as far as the modern Lichtenfels in 63° . On meeting here with the icebergs brought down to that point from the Polar seas, they once more came about and headed toward the west.

During their progress across Davis Strait, the crashing of the ice-floes in a storm led them to believe they were passing near two islands full of demons. For many a year an island of this name figured on the maps in the very middle of the mouth of Davis Strait.

They at length caught sight of the coast of our present Labrador in about $57^{\circ} 30'$, which is the latitude of Nanuk-tut, a remarkable headland that can be distinguished from a very great distance. Sailing on down this coast, which they took to be the mainland of Asia, they seem to have done some bartering with the Indians about here; for those brought from this region to Portugal by

the Corte-Reals three years later were found in possession of a broken gilded sword and a pair of earrings, which to all appearance had been made in Venice. Our strait of Belle Isle, as was most natural, was merely taken for an inlet along the coast of this mainland, and it is so given on Ruysch's map.

Sailing down this coast, they were struck again, as they had been on their first voyage, by the immense shoals of codfish met with. According to Sebastian Cabot, they were in such numbers that they "sumtymes stayed his shippes." To this region they therefore gave the name of *Baccallaos*, or the Codfish land, by which it continued to be known throughout the sixteenth century.

Bears, as is well known, were formerly very numerous on the east coast of Newfoundland. The Cabots also noticed the "greate plentie of beares in those regions, which use to eate fysshes. For plungeinge theym selves into the water where they perceve a multitude of these fysshes to lye, they fasten theyr clawes in theyr scales, and so drawe them to lande and eate them." This was the reason, according to Sebastian Cabot, why these bears were not "noysom" or harmful to men.

Proceeding on down that coast they at length reached Cape Race, which when on their way home on their previous voyage they had named "England's Cape." They had thus completed the whole circuit of the northern regions, with Bristol and Cape Race as the base points of the semicircle. That those regions contained nothing of utility, they were now quite certain. Since the spice country lay near the equator, they had merely to follow this Asiatic coast-line steadily towards the south, and in time they were bound to come to Cipango and the islands discovered by Columbus.

Sailing along the south coast of Newfoundland, which they had been unable to explore in detail on their former

voyage, they seem to have entered the deep bay of Placentia, as it is clearly indicated on Ruysch's map, but without a name. St. Pierre, Miquelon and Langle, which had been called the Trinity group on the first voyage, when time had been too precious to stop and examine them, were now explored in detail. It was noticed that although the main coast opposite contained lofty trees, nothing but low shrubs grew on these islands. They were therefore dubbed the "Shrub Islands."

Coasting along the southern shore of Newfoundland—still in their opinion the mainland of Asia—they arrived once more at Cape Ray, which on their former voyage they had named St. George's Cape. They now rounded it, and proceeded to follow the west coast of Newfoundland northward for a short distance. Discovering here no signs of cities nor of spices, they once more came about and headed toward the south. The north coast of Cape Breton island, on which on their former voyage they had made their landfall, was re-visited and, as on that occasion, a fresh supply of wood seems to have been taken on board at Scatari Island. We know that they re-fitted along this coast, and Scatari Island on Ruysch's map seems to be called "Wood Island."

Proceeding on down the coast of the present Nova Scotia, they seem no longer to have examined each opening as they had hitherto done; doubtless because their provisions were now beginning to get low and they wished to press on to the spice region near the equator. When following the coast of New England they seem to have been standing so close in shore that they were caught in the hook of Cape Cod.

Passing outside Long Island they sailed up toward Sandy Hook Bay, where they probably anchored. They were much impressed by the distance westward they had now come. The east coast of Greenland lies, in fact,

in 43° of longitude, while Sandy Hook is in 74° . Since the eastern end of Cuba lies less than one degree farther to the west, Sebastian Cabot could well say he had "sayled in this tracte so farre toward the weste, that he had the Ilande of Cuba on his lefte hande in maner in the same degree of longitude."

An examination of their provisions at Sandy Hook forced them to the unwelcome conclusion that they must either soon reach a region where fresh stores could be procured or else come about and head home again for England. They determined, however, to follow this coast for some days longer, in the hope that they would yet come upon vestiges of civilization, or at any rate upon signs that they were nearing the region of spices. They therefore coasted the shores of New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland down as far as the 38^{th} degree of latitude. They had now been "broughte so farre into the south by reason of the lande bendynge so much southward," that they were "almoste equall in latitude with the sea cauled *Fretum Herculeum*," or the Strait of Gibraltar, and yet no sign of spices had been seen. In view of this, of the low state of their stores and also of the late season of the year, it was deemed best to bring their exploration to an end at that point. On a subsequent voyage the intervening space to the equator could be explored. Then certainly the centre of the spice region would be reached and the magnificent results obtained upon which they had counted for this voyage.

Once the decision to return had been arrived at, they quitted the American coast at a point somewhere between the Delaware and Chesapeake bays and headed home for England. What course they steered we do not know. They reached Bristol in safety some time in November.

H. P. BIGGAR

THE REGENT AND THE CORDELIER

1512

THE havoc which this expedition¹ had made in Bretagne had provoked the French Government to great and well-directed exertions in their marine; and they collected thirty-nine sail in Brest harbour, under a Breton admiral of doubtful name. Their preparations were such that Henry, on his part, caused all his remaining ships and galleys to be made ready for reinforcing the lord admiral: the *Regent*, a ship royal, being "the chief ship of that navy." The soldiers for this fleet were mustered on Blackheath, and Sir Anthony Oughtred, Sir Edward Ickynhame, and William (father of the excellent Sir Henry Sydney and grandfather of the admirable Sir Philip) were appointed, with other gentlemen, captains for that time. On the way to the Isle of Wight a galley was lost by the negligence of the master. "The King desiring," says Hall, "to see his navy together," rode to Portsmouth, and there appointed his master of the horse, Sir Thomas Knevet, and Sir John Carew, of Devonshire, captains of the *Regent*; and to another ship-royal, called the *Sovereign*, he appointed Sir Charles Brandon and Sir Henry Guildford; and with them in the *Sovereign* were put sixty of the tallest yeomen of the King's guard; and many other gentlemen were made captains. "The King made a great banquet to all the captains, and every one

¹ The expedition of 1511, led by Sir Edward Howard, who ravaged the coasts of Brittany.

sware to another ever to defend, aid, and comfort one another without failing, and this they promised before the King, which committed them to God. And so, with great noise of minstrelsy, they took their ships, which were twenty-five in number, of great burden, and well furnished with all things." The lord admiral's force, after this junction, consisted of forty-five sail, and with these he resolved to sail and attack the enemy.

The two fleets came in sight of each other on St. Lawrence's day, off St. Mahé, on the coast of Bretagne. The English had the advantage in number, the French in the size of some of their ships : their admiral, *Le Corde-lier*, which belonged to the Queen, carried 1,200 soldiers, besides seamen, according to the French ; but the English estimate the whole number at 900, their own largest vessel, the *Regent*, carrying 700. There was another vessel in the enemy's fleet, large enough to be called the great ship of Dieppe. "When the Englishmen," says the chronicler, "perceived the French navy to be out of Brest haven, then the lord admiral was very joyous ; then every man prepared according to his duty ; the archers to shoot, the gunners to loose, the men of arms to fight, the pages went to the top castle with darts. Thus all things being provided and set in order, the Englishmen approached towards the Frenchmen, which came fiercely forward, some levying¹ his anchor, some with his foresail only, to take the most advantage ; and when they were in sight, they shot ordnance so terribly together that all the sea coast sounded of it."

"The lord admiral made for the great ship of Dieppe, and chased her still, and she was also attacked by the *Regent* ; while the *Sovereign* made with the *Cordelier*, and laid to that huge carrack stem to stem : but whether by the master's fault, or mishap by reason

¹ Levying : raising.

of the smoke, the *Sovereign* was cast at the stern of the *Cordelier*, and with this advantage the Frenchmen shouted for joy." Knevet was at this time ready to have boarded the great ship of Dieppe, but seeing that the *Sovereign* had missed the *Cordelier*, he made for that carrack and grappled it; and when the French saw that they could not loosen themselves they let slip an anchor, and so with the stream the ships turned and the carrack was on the weather side, and the *Regent* on the lee side. The fight then was "very cruel, for the archers of the English part, and the cross-bows of the French part, did their uttermost"; but finally the English entered the carrack. In what manner the dreadful catastrophe was caused is variously reported, and never can be ascertained. One account says that Sir Anthony Oughtred "chased hard at the stern of the carrack, and bowged¹ her in divers places, and set her on fire." Another, that a varlet gunner, when he saw that the English had entered the ship, desperately fired her powder. Both ships were presently in flames; they were now so grappled, that it was impossible for them to separate, and both were consumed. The French, fear- and horror-struck, fled in all haste, some to Brest, some to the isles adjoining. The English, who were also "in manner dismayed," sent out boats to save their countrymen in the *Regent*; but the fire was so great that none durst approach; and except some few Frenchmen, who were picked up by the *James* of Hull (worthy to be named for having thus distinguished itself), all on board both ships perished—900 in the French, 700 in the English!

This event is said to have been happy for the French navy, for otherwise "they would have been better assailed of the Englishmen, who were so amazed at this chance that they followed them not." The English

¹ Bowged: bulged.

fleet lay that night in the bay where the action was fought. The lord admiral called his captains together, and exhorted them not to be abashed by this chance of war ; it was the worst fortune, he said, that could happen to them, and they must now study to be revenged. So, as the enemy had dispersed, they resolved to scour the coasts of Bretagne, Normandy, and Picardy ; many ships they took, and such as they could not carry away they set on fire, “ to a great number, small and great, and thus they kept the sea.”

ROBERT SOUTHEY

ROBERT THORNE'S DECLARATION

This declaration was an exhortation to Henry VIII, written in 1527 by Robert Thorne, who had been in business in Seville and had thus acquired experience of the value of Spanish trade.

Now I considering this your noble courage and desire, and also perceiving that your Grace may at your pleasure, to your greater glory, by a godly mean, with little cost, peril, or labour to your Grace or any of your subjects, amplify and enrich this your said realm, I know it is my bounden duty to manifest this secret unto your Grace, which hitherto, as I suppose, hath been hid : which is, that with a small number of ships there may be discovered divers new lands and kingdoms, in the which without doubt your Grace shall win perpetual glory, and your subjects infinite profit. To which places there is left one way to discover, which is into the North : for that of the four parts of the world, it seemeth that three parts are discovered by other Princes. For out of Spain they have discovered all the Indies and Seas Occidental, and out of Portugal all the Indies and Seas Oriental : so that by this part of the Orient and Occident they have compassed the world.

For the one of them departing toward the Orient, and the other toward the Occident, met again in the course or way of the middest of the day, and so then was discovered a great part of the same seas and coasts by the Spaniards. So that now rest to be discovered the said North parts, the which it seemeth to me, is only your charge and duty. Because the situation of this your

realm is thereunto nearest and aptest of all other : and also for that you have already taken in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seem well to leave so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easily and with so little cost, labour, and danger, be followed and obtained : though heretofore your Grace hath made thereof a proof, and found not the commodity thereby as you trusted, at this time it shall be no impediment. For there may be now provided remedies for things, then lacked, and the inconveniences and lets¹ removed, that then were cause that your Grace's desire took no full effect, which is, the courses to be changed, and followed the foresaid new courses. And concerning the mariners, ships, and provision, an order may be devised and taken meet and convenient, much better than hitherto. By reason whereof, and by God's grace, no doubt your purposes hall take effect. Surely the cost herein will be nothing, in comparison to the great profit. The labour is much less, yea nothing at all, where so great glory and honour is hoped for : and considering well the courses, truly the danger and way is shorter to us than to Spain or Portugal, as by evident reasons appeareth.

And now to declare something of the commodity and utility of this navigation and discovery : it is very clear and certain that the seas that commonly men say, without great danger, difficulty and peril, yea rather it is impossible to pass, that those same seas be navigable and without any such danger, but that ships may pass and have in them perpetual clearness of the day without any darkness of the night : which thing is a great commodity for the navigants, to see at all times round about them, as well the safeguards as dangers, and how great difference it is between the commodity and perils of other which

¹ Lets : hindrances.

leese¹ the most part of every four and twenty hours the said light, and go in darkness, groping their way, I think there is none so ignorant but perceiveth this more plainly than it can be expressed. Yea what a vantage shall your Grace's subjects have also by this light to discover the strange lands, countries and coasts? For if they that be discovered, to sail by them in darkness is with great danger, much more then the coasts not discovered be dangerous to travel by night or in darkness.

Yet these dangers or darkness hath not let the Spaniards and Portugals and others, to discover many unknown realms to their great peril. Which considered (and that your Grace's subjects may have the same light) it will seem your Grace's subjects to be without activity or courage, in leaving to do this glorious and noble enterprise. For they being past this little way which they named so dangerous (which may be two or three leagues before they come to the Pole, and as much more after they pass the Pole), it is clear, that from thenceforth the seas and lands are as temperate as in these parts, and that then it may be at the will and pleasure of the mariners to choose whether they will sail by the coasts that be cold, temperate or hot. For they being past the Pole, it is plain they may decline² to what part they list.³

If they will go toward the Orient, they shall enjoy the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the midday, and from thence they may go and proceed to the land of the Chinas, and from thence to the land of Cathaio Oriental, which is of all the main land most Oriental that can be reckoned from our habitation. And if from thence they do continue their navigation, following the coasts that return toward the Occident, they shall fall in with Malacca, and so with all the Indies which we call

¹ Leese : lose. ² Decline : voyage down. ³ List : desire.

Oriental, and following the way, may return hither by the Cape of Buona Speransa : and thus they shall compass the whole world.

And if they will take their course after they be past the Pole, toward the Occident, they shall go in the back of the New Found Land, which of late was discovered by your Grace's subject, until they come to the back and South Seas of the Indies Occidental. And so continuing their voyage they may return through the Straits of Magellan to this country, and so they compass also the world by that way : and if they go this third way, and after they be past the Pole, go right toward the Pole Antarctic, and then decline toward the lands and islands situated between the Tropics, and under the Equinoctial, without doubt they shall find there the richest lands and islands of the world of gold, precious stones, balms, spices, and other things that we here esteem most : which come out of strange countries, and may return the same way.

By this it appeareth, your Grace hath not only a great advantage of the riches, but also your subjects shall not travel half of the way that other do, which go round about as aforesaid.



THE LOSS OF THE "MARY ROSE."

THE LOSS OF THE *MARY ROSE*

1544

AFTER the departing of the English navy from Newhaven, the Admirall of Fraunce, called the lorde Danibalt, a man of great experience, halsed¹ up his sayles, and with his whole navie came to the poynt of the Isle of Wight, called Saint Helene's poynt, and there in good order, cast their ankers, and sent XVI of his galies daily to the very haven of Portsmouth. The English navie liying in the haven made them prest² and set out towards them, and stil the one shot at the other. (But one day above al other, the whole navie of the Englishemen made out and purposed to set on the Frenchmen, but in their setting forward, a goodly shippe of Englande, called the Mary Rose, was by to much folly drowned in the middes³ of the haven ; for she was laden with to much ordinaunce, and the portes left open, which were very low, and the great ordinaunce unbreeched,⁴ so that when the shipp should turne, the water entered, and sodainly she sanke.) In her was Sir George Carewe Knight, capitaine of the sayde shippe, and foure hundred men, and much ordinaunce.—GRAFTON'S CHRONICLE.

¹ Hoisted.

² Made themselves ready.

³ Midst.

⁴ Breechings are ropes fastening the guns to the ship's side.

JOHN OXENHAM IN PANAMA

1575

THOUGH Drake had enriched himself in his expedition, success served only to excite him to a greater enterprise. But while he was "brooding privately over this new design," it was in part forestalled by one who had served under him in the various capacities of soldier, sailor, and cook. This person, whose name was John Oxenham, is said to have obtained the good opinion both of his captain and comrades in no ordinary degree. Drake, when he beheld from "that goodly and great high tree of the Maroons" the sea of which he had heard such golden reports, communicated especially to Oxenham his purpose of one day sailing upon it, "if it would please God to grant him that happiness"; and Oxenham, in reply, protested that unless Drake were to beat him from his company, "he would follow him by God's grace."

On one occasion, when a party was to be sent on shore, and the people would not consent that Drake should venture his person, John Oxenham and Thomas Sherwell were put in trust for the service, "to the great content of the whole company, who conceived greatest hope of them next to the captain, whom, by no means, they would condescend to suffer to adventure."

Oxenham "had gotten among the seamen the name of captain for his valour, and had privily scraped together good store of money"; and, having been now

some time at home, and becoming impatient of idleness, he determined no longer to wait for Drake, but to undertake, on his own account, the adventure which that enterprising commander had projected. Following, therefore, the course which his late commander had so successfully pursued, he sailed for the isthmus with one ship and seventy men, revisited his old acquaintances the Maroons, and learned from them that the treasure which he had hoped to intercept on its way from Panama was now protected by a convoy of soldiers. Disappointed in this hope, he determined upon a bolder adventure.

He drew his ship aground in a retired and woody creek, covered it with boughs, buried his provisions and his great guns, and taking with him two small pieces of ordnance, went, with all his men and six Maroon guides, about twelve leagues into the interior, to a river which discharges itself into the South Sea. There he cut wood and built a pinnace "which was five and forty feet by the keel," embarked in it, and secured for himself the honour (if so it may be called, under such circumstances) of being the first Englishman that ever entered the Pacific. In this vessel he went to the Ilha de Perlas, five and twenty leagues from Panama, and there lay in wait for the appearance of a vessel from Peru. After lurking ten days, he captured a small bark bringing gold from Quito; and six days afterward, another with silver from Lima.

Not satisfied with this, he searched the islands for pearls; and having found a few, returned to his pinnace, made for the river in which he had embarked, and, when he was near the mouth, dismissed his prizes, thus incautiously allowing them to perceive where he was entering. The alarm was soon given; first by some negroes from the island, who, as soon as he had left them, hastened in a canoe to Panama. Juan de Ortega

was immediately despatched with 100 men, beside negro rowers, in four barks ; and he falling in with the prizes on his way was by them directed to the river. Here, however, he was at fault ; for the river discharged itself by three channels : he had made his choice to ascend the greatest of these streams, when feathers were observed coming down one of the smaller channels, from whence it was inferred that the pirates had plucked some fowls upon its banks. Here, therefore, he entered ; and, after four days' search, discovered the pinnace, with six Englishmen on board. These men leaped ashore, and ran for their lives : one was killed in his flight, the others escaped. Ortega, leaving twenty men in his boats, entered the country with the rest of his force ; and, pursuing such traces as were to be found, came upon a hut or barrack, from whence the English, upon the alarm given them by their comrades, had fled, but where they had left their booty, and whatever else might have encumbered them. He removed the treasure to his barks and thought it more prudent to wait awhile for the chance of events, than to enter upon a painful and uncertain pursuit.

In this he judged wisely. There had been a dispute between Oxenham and his men when they had got their plunder ashore ; he had required them to carry it to their ship, promising them their shares ; the sailors, however, demanded a present division of the spoil : he was angry that his word should be doubted, and they were incensed that he made any difficulty in satisfying their claim. His life was threatened : the matter, however, seems to have been compromised, and Oxenham went in search of negroes to act as carriers. These he procured among the Maroons, and returning with them, met his men who had escaped from the pinnace, and those who were fleeing from the barrack. The loss

of their booty at once completed their reconciliation : he promised larger shares if they should succeed in recapturing it ; and marched resolutely in quest of the Spaniards, relying upon the Maroons as well as upon his own people. But Ortega was prepared for such an attempt : the Spanish were experienced in bush fighting, and made such advantage of their experience, that with the loss of seven killed and wounded, they slew five of the negroes and eleven Englishmen, and took seven of Oxenham's men prisoners.

Thus defeated, he made for his ship with the remainder of his men ; and Ortega, having buried his dead, returned with the treasure, the pinnace, and the prisoners to Panama. Advice had been sent from thence to Nombre de Dios : vessels were despatched to search along the coast for the Englishman's ship ; and when Oxenham and his people reached the spot where they had, as they hoped, concealed it, it was gone. Nothing remained for them but to trust the friendship of the Maroons, till they could build canoes, in which it was their intention to try their fortune upon the Northern Sea, if they could surprise some vessel there. But in this, which, if time had been given them for attempting it, would have been no forlorn hope, they were prevented. The Spaniards, who knew how insecure they must be while fifty such adventurers were at large in the country, sent 150 men under Diego de Frias to hunt them out : some who were sick fell into his hands ; and the others, whom he failed to take, Oxenham being one, were, after a while, delivered up by the negroes. They were brought to Panama ; and Oxenham was then asked whether he had his Queen's authority for entering the King of Spain's dominions ? This could not be produced, nor was it pretended : summary condemnation followed, and the prisoners were executed as pirates, except Oxen-

ham, the master, the pilot, and five boys, who were sent to Lima, the latter as fit subjects for mercy and conversion because of their youth; the three former as being the chiefs of the crew, of whom it was expedient that an example should be made in the Peruvian capital. In that city Oxenham and his two companions suffered death as common enemies of mankind; "thus miscarrying," says Camden, "in this great and memorable adventure."

From "Hakluyt's Voyages" 1598

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S CIRCUM- NAVIGATION

1577-1580

Time never can produce men to o'ertake
The fames of Grenville, Davis, Gilbert, Drake,
Or worthy Hawkins, or of thousands more
That by their power made the Devonian shore
Mock the proud Tagus.

WILLIAM BROWNE OF TAVISTOCK

THE fifteenth day of November, in the year of Our Lord 1577, M. Francis Drake, with a fleet of five ships and barques, and to the number of a hundred sixty-four men, gentlemen and sailors, departed from Plymouth, giving out his pretended voyage for Alexandria; but the wind falling contrary, he was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth Haven in Cornwall, where such and so terrible a tempest took us, as few men have seen the like, and was indeed so vehement, that all our ships were like to have gone to wreck. But it pleased God to preserve us from that extremity; and to afflict us only for that present with these two particulars; the mast of our Admiral, which was the *Pelican*, was cut overboard, for the safeguard of the ship, and the *Marigold* was driven ashore and somewhat bruised. For the repairing

of which damages, we returned again to Plymouth : and having recovered those harms, and brought the ships again to good state, we set forth the second time from Plymouth, and set sail the thirteenth day of December following.

The five and twentieth day of the same month, we fell with the Cape Cantin, upon the coast of Barbary : and coasting along, the seven and twentieth day we found an island called Mogador, lying one mile distant from the main ; between which island and the main, we found a very good and safe harbour for our ships to ride in, as also very good entrance, and void of any danger. On this island our General erected a pinnacle, whereof he brought out of England with him four ready framed.

While these things were in doing, there came to the water's side some of the inhabitants of the country, showing forth their flags of truce : which being seen of our General, he sent his ship's boat to the shore, to know what they would. They being willing to come aboard, our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboard our ship, which by signs showed our General, that the next day they would bring some provision, as sheep, capons, and hens and such like : whereupon our General bestowed amongst them some linen cloth, and shoes, and a javelin, which they very joyfully received, and departed for that time. The next morning they failed not to come again to the water's side, and our General again setting out our boat, one of our men leaping over rashly ashore, and offering friendly to embrace them, they laid violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throat, if he had made any resistance, and so laying him on a horse, carried him away : so that a man cannot be too circumspect and wary of himself, amongst such miscreants.

Our pinnacle being finished, we departed from this place the thirtieth and last day of December: and coasting along the shore, we did descry, not contrary to our expectation, certain canters, which were Spanish fishermen; to whom we gave chase, and took three of them: and proceeding further, we met with three caravels, and took them also.

The seventeenth day of January we arrived at Cape Blanco, where we found a ship riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two simple mariners in her: which ship we took, and carried her further into the harbour, where we remained four days; and in that space our General mustered, and trained his men on land, in warlike manner, to make them fit for all occasions. In this place we took of the fishermen such necessaries as we wanted, and they could yield us; and leaving here one of our little barques called the *Benedict*, we took with us one of theirs, which they called canters, being of the burden of forty tons, or thereabouts.

All these things being finished, we departed this harbour the two and twentieth of January, carrying along with us one of the Portugal caravels, which was bound to the island of Cape Verde for salt, whereof good store is made in one of these islands.

The Master or Pilot of that caravel did advertise our General, that upon one of those islands, called Mayo, there was great store of dried Cabritos,¹ which a few inhabitants there dwelling did yearly make ready for such of the King's ships as did there touch, being bound for his country of Brazil, or elsewhere. We fell with this island the seven and twentieth of January: but the inhabitants would in no case traffic with us, being thereof forbidden by the King's edict. Yet the next day our

¹ Cabritos: pieces of kid's flesh.

General sent to view the island, and the likelihoods that might be there of provision of victuals, about threescore and two men, under the conduct and government of Master Winter and Master Doughty: and marching towards the chief place of habitation in the island (as by the Portugals we were informed) having travelled to the mountains the space of three miles, and arriving there somewhat before the day-break, we rested ourselves to see day before us; which appearing, we found the inhabitants to be fled: but the place, by reason that it was manured, we found to be more fruitful than the other part, especially the valleys among the hills.

Being returned to our ships, our General departed hence the one and thirtieth of this month, and sailed by the island of St. Iago, but far enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who shot and discharged at us three pieces, but they all fell short of us, and did us no harm. The island is fair and large, and as it seemeth, rich and fruitful, and inhabited by the Portugals; but the mountains and high places of the island are said to be possessed by the Moors, who, having been slaves to the Portugals, to ease themselves made escape to the desert places of the island, where they abide with great strength.

Being before this island, we espied two ships under sail, to the one of which we gave chase, and in the end boarded her without resistance, which we found to be a good prize, and she yielded unto us good store of wine: which prize our General committed unto the custody of Master Doughty; and retaining the pilot, sent the rest away with his pinnace, giving them a butt of wine, and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed.

The same night we came with the island called by the Portugals *Ilha del Fogo*, that is, the Burning Island. in the north side whereof is a consuming fire, the matter

is said to be of sulphur, but notwithstanding it is like to be a commodious island because the Portugals have built and do inhabit there. Upon the south side whereof lieth a most pleasant and sweet island, the trees whereof are always green and fair to look upon, in respect whereof they call it *Ilha Brava*, that is, the *Brave Island*. From the banks thereof, into the sea, do run in many places reasonable streams of fresh waters, easy to be come by, but there was no convenient road for our ships: for such was the depth, that no ground could be had for anchoring; and it is reported, that ground was never found in that place: so that the tops of *Fogo* burn not so high in the air, but the roots of *Brava* are drenched as low in the sea.

Being departed from these islands, we drew towards the line,¹ where we were becalmed the space of three weeks, but yet subject to divers great storms, terrible lightnings, and much thunder: but with this misery, we had the commodity of great store of fish, as dolphins, bonitos,² and flying fishes, whereof some fell into our ships, where-hence they could not rise again, for want of moisture; for when their wings are dry, they cannot fly.

From the first day of our departure from the islands of *Cape Verde*, we sailed four and fifty days without sight of land, and the first land that we fell with, was the coast of *Brazil*, which we saw the fifth of April, in the height of three and thirty degrees towards the pole antarctic: and being discovered at sea by the inhabitants of the country, they made upon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned) to the Devils, about which they used conjurations, making heaps of sand, and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall go about to stay

¹ Line: the Equator.

² Bonitos: tunnies.

upon their coast, not only sands may be gathered together in shoals in every place, but also that storms and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof (as it is reported) there have been divers experiments.

The seventh day in the mighty great storm both of lightning, rain and thunder, we lost the canter, which we called the *Christopher*: but the eleventh day after, by our General's great care in dispersing his ships, we found her again; and the place where we met, our General called the Cape of Joy, where every ship took in some water. Here we found a good temperature, and sweet air, a very fair and pleasant country, with an exceeding fruitful soil, where were great store of large and mighty deer, but we came not to the sight of any people: but travelling further into the country, we perceived the footing of people in the clay-ground, showing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our ships, we weighed anchor, and ran somewhat further, and harboured ourselves between a rock and the main, where, by means of the rock that brake the force of the sea, we rode very safe: and upon this rock we killed, for our provison, certain sea-wolves, commonly called with us seals.

From hence we went our course to six and thirty degrees, and entered the great river of Plate, and ran into four and fifty and three and fifty fathoms and a half of fresh water, where we filled our water by the ship's side: but our General finding here no good harbour, as he thought he should, bore out again to sea the seven and twentieth of April, and in bearing out, we lost sight of our fly-boat wherein Master Doughty was. But we sailing along, found a fair and reasonable good bay, wherein were many profitable islands, one whereof had so many seals, as would at the least have laden all

our ships ; and the rest of the islands are as it were laden with fowls, which is wonderful to see, and they of divers sorts. It is a place very plentiful of victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh water. Our General after certain days of his abode in this place, being on shore in an island, the people of the country showed themselves unto him, leaping and dancing, and entered into traffic with him, but they would not receive anything at any man's hands but the same must be cast upon the ground. They are of clean comely and strong bodies, swift on foot, and seem to be very active.

The eighteenth day of May our General thought it needful to have a care of such ships as were absent, and therefore endeavouring to seek the fly-boat wherein Master Doughty was, we espied her again the next day : and whereas certain of our ships were sent to discover the coast, and to search a harbour, the *Marigold* and the canter being employed in that business, came unto us, and gave us understanding of a safe harbour that they had found, wherewith all our ships bore and entered it, where we watered, and made new provision of victuals, as by seals, whereof we slew to the number of two or three hundred in the space of an hour.

Here our General in the Admiral rode close aboard the fly-boat, and took out of her all the provision of victuals and what else was in her, and haling her to the land, set fire to her, and so burnt her, to save the iron-work : which being a-doing, there came down of the country certain of the people naked, saving only about their waist the skin of some beast, with the fur or hair on, and something also wreathed on their heads : their faces were painted with divers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of horns, every man his bow, which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrows. They were a very agile people, and quick

to deliver, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feats of wars, as by their order of ranging a few men might appear. These people would not of a long time receive anything at our hands : yet at length our General being ashore, and they dancing after their accustomed manner about him, and he once turning his back towards them, one leapt suddenly to him, and took his cap with his gold band off his head, and ran a little distance from him, and shared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other. Having despatched all our business in this place, we departed and set sail, and immediately upon our setting forth, we lost our canter, which was absent three or four days : but when our General had her again, he took out the necessaries, and so gave her over, near to the Cape of Good Hope.

The next day after, being the twentieth of June, we harboured ourselves again in a very good harbour, called by Magellan, Port S. Julian, where we found a gibbet standing upon the main, which we supposed to be the place where Magellan did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company. And here M. Thomas Doughty was tried, and received sentence of death, which was also here executed. Here also some of our men going ashore, were by the savages forced to retire.

The seventeenth day of August we departed the Port of S. Julian, and the twentieth day we fell with the Strait or Freat of Magellan, going into the South Sea, at the Cape or Headland whereof, we found the body of a dead man, whose flesh was clean consumed. The one and twentieth day we entered the strait, which we found to have many turnings, and as it were shuttings up, as if there were no passage at all, by means whereof we had the wind often against us, so that some of the fleet recovering a cape or point of land, others should

be forced to turn back again, and to come to an anchor where they could. In this strait there be many fair harbours, with store of fresh water, but yet they lack their best commodity : for the water is there of such depth, that no man shall find ground to anchor in except it be in some narrow river or corner, or between some rocks ; so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds do come (whereunto the place is much subject) it carrieth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very huge and mountainous ; the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderful to look upon, for their height, yet there are others which in height exceed them in a strange manner, reaching themselves above their fellows so high, that between them did appear three regions of clouds. These mountains are covered with snow : at both the southerly and easterly parts of the strait there are islands, among which the sea hath his indraught into the straits even as it hath in the main entrance of the Freat. This strait is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually : the trees seem to stoop with the burden of the weather, and yet are green continually ; and many good and sweet herbs do very plentifully grow and increase under them.

The breadth of the strait is in some places a league, in some other places two leagues, and three leagues, and in some other, four leagues : but the narrowest place hath a league over.

The four and twentieth of August we arrived at an island in the straits, where we found great store of fowl which could not fly, of the bigness of geese, whereof we killed in less than one day three thousand, and victualled ourselves thoroughly therewith.

The sixth day of September we entered the South Sea at the Cape or headland.

The seventh day we were driven by a great storm from the entering into the South Sea, two hundred leagues and odd in longitude, and one degree to the southward of the strait : in which height, and so many leagues to the westward, the fifteenth day of September fell out the eclipse of the moon, at the hour of six of the clock at night : but neither did the ecliptical conflict of the moon improve our state, nor her clearing again amend us a whit, but the accustomed eclipse of the sea continued in his force, we being darkened more than the moon sevenfold.

From this bay (which we called the Bay of the Severing of Friends) we were driven back to the southward of the straits, in seven and fifty degrees and a *terce*¹ : in which height, we came to an anchor among the islands, having there fresh and very good water, with herbs of singular virtue. Not far from hence, we entered another bay, where we found people, both men and women, in their canoes, naked, and ranging from one island to another, to seek their meat ; who entered traffic with us, for such things as they had.

We returning hence northward again, found the third of October three islands, in one of which was such plenty of birds, as is scant credible to report.

The eighth day of October we lost sight of one of our consorts, wherein M. Winter was, who, as then we supposed, was put by a storm into the straits again : which, at our return home, we found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our company feared.

Thus being come into the height of the straits again, we ran, supposing the coast of Chili to lie as the general maps have described it, namely, north-west, which we found to lie and trend to the north-east, and east-

¹ *Terce* : third part.

wards : whereby it appeareth, that this part of Chili hath not been truly hitherto discovered, or at the least not truly reported, for the space of twelve degrees at the least, being set down either of purpose to deceive, or of ignorant conjecture.

We continuing our course, fell the nine and twentieth of November with an island called La Mocha, where we cast anchor, and our General hoisting out our boat, went with ten of our company to shore, where we found people, whom the cruel and extreme dealings of the Spaniards have forced, for their own safety and liberty, to fly from the main, and so fortify themselves in this island. We being on land, the people came down to us to the water side, with show of great courtesy, bringing to us potatoes, roots, and two very fat sheep, which our General received, and gave them other things for them, and had promise to have water there : but the next day repairing again to the shore, and sending two men aland with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they use to show no favour, if they take them) laid violent hands on them, and as we think, slew them.

Our General seeing this, stayed here no longer, but weighed anchor, and set sail towards the coast of Chili, and drawing towards it, we met near to the shore an Indian in a canoe, who, thinking us to have been Spaniards, came to us and told us that at a place called S. Iago, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdom of Peru : for which good news, our General gave him divers trifles, whereof he was glad, and went along with us, and brought us to the place, which is called the port of Valparaizo.

When we came thither, we found indeed the ship riding at anchor, having in her eight Spaniards and three Negroes, who thinking us to have been Spaniards,

and their friends, welcomed us with a drum, and made ready a bottija¹ of wine of Chili to drink to us : but as soon as we were entered, one of our company, called Thomas Moone, began to lay about him, and struck one of the Spaniards. One of these Spaniards seeing persons of that quality in those seas, all to-crossed and blessed himself. But to be short, we stowed them under hatch, all save one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt overboard into the sea and swam ashore to the town of S. Iago, to give them warning of our arrival. They of the town being not above nine households, presently fled away, and abandoned the town. Our General manned his boat, and the Spanish ship's boat, and went to the town : and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chapel, which we entered, and found therein a silver chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the spoil whereof our General gave to M. Fletcher, his Minister. We found also in this town a warehouse, stored with wine of Chili, and many boards of cedar-wood ; all which wine we brought away with us, and certain of the boards to burn for firewood : and so being come aboard, we departed the haven, having first set all the Spaniards on land, saving one John Griego, a Greek born, whom our General carried with him for his pilot, to bring him into the haven of Lima.

When we were at sea, our General rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of Chili, and five and twenty thousand pezoës of very pure and fine gold of Baldivia, amounting in value to seven and thirty thousand ducats of Spanish money, and above. So going on our course, we arrived next at a place called Coquimbo, where our General sent fourteen of his

men on land to fetch water : but they were espied by the Spaniards, who came with three hundred horsemen and two hundred footmen, and slew one of our men with a piece ; the rest came aboard in safety, and the Spaniards departed : we went on shore again, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came down again with a flag of truce ; but we set sail, and would not trust them.

From hence we went to a certain port, called Tarapaxa : where being landed, we found by the sea-side a Spaniard lying asleep, who had lying by him thirteen bars of silver, which weighed four thousand ducats Spanish ; we took the silver and left the man.

Not far from hence, going on land for fresh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driving eight llamas or sheep of Peru, which are as big as asses ; every of which sheep had on his back two bags of leather, each bag containing fifty pound weight of fine silver : so that bringing both the sheep and their burden to the ships, we found in all the bags eight hundred weight of silver.

Hence we sailed to a place called Arica : and being entered the port, we found there three small barques, which we rifled and found in one of them seven and fifty wedges of silver, each of them weighing about twenty pound weight, and everyone of these wedges was of the fashion and bigness of a brick-bat. In all these three barques we found not one person ; for they mistrusting¹ no strangers, were all gone aland to the town, which consisteth of about twenty houses, which we would have ransacked, if our company had been better, and more in number. But our General, contented with the spoil of the ships, left the town,

¹ Mistrusting : not expecting

and set sail for Lima, and by the way met with a small barque, which he boarded, and found in her good store of linen cloth, whereof taking some quantity he let her go.

To Lima we came the thirteenth day of February : and being entered the haven, we found there about twelve sail of ships, lying fast moored at an anchor, having all their sails carried on shore : for the masters and merchants were here most secure, having never been assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approach of none such as we were. Our General rifled these ships, and found in one of them a chest full of rials¹ of plate, and good store of silks and linen cloth, and took the chest into his own ship, and good store of the silks and linen. In which ship he had news of another ship, called the *Spitfire*, which was gone towards Païta, and that the same ship was laden with treasure : whereupon we stayed no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the ships in the haven, we let them drive whither they would, either to sea, or to the shore, and with all speed we followed the *Spitfire* toward Païta, thinking there to have found her ; but before we arrived there, she was gone from thence towards Panama : whom our General still pursued, and by the way met with a barque laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which he boarded and searched, and found in her fourscore pound weight of gold, and a crucifix of gold, with goodly great emeralds set in it, which he took, and some of the cordage also for his own ship.

From hence we departed, still following the *Spitfire*, and our General promised our company, that whosoever could first descry her, should have his chain of gold for

¹ Rials : Spanish coins.

his good news. It fortuned, that John Drake going up to the top, descried her about three of the clock, and about six of the clock we came to her and boarded her, and shot at her three pieces of ordnance, and struck down her mizen : and being entered, we found in her great riches, as jewels and precious stones, thirteen chests full of rials of plate, fourscore pound weight of gold, and six and twenty ton of silver. The place where we took this prize was called Cape de San Francisco, about a hundred and fifty leagues from Panama.

When our General had done what he could with this *Spitfire*, he cast her off, and we went on our course still towards the west, and not long after met with a ship laden with linen cloth, and fine China dishes of white earth, and great store of China silks, of all which things we took as we listed. The owner himself of this ship was in her, who was a Spanish gentleman : from whom our General took a falcon of gold, with a great emerald in the breast thereof ; and the pilot of the ship he took also with him, and so cast the ship off.

This pilot brought us to the haven of Guatulco : the town whereof, as he told us, had but seventeen Spaniards in it. As soon as we were entered this haven, we landed, and went presently to the town, and to the town-house, where we found a judge sitting in judgment, being associated with three other officers, upon three negroes that had conspired the burning of the town : both which judges and prisoners we took, and brought them a ship-board, and caused the chief judge to write his letter to the town, to command all the townsmen to avoid,¹ that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransacked the town, and in one house we found a pot, of the quantity of a bushel,

¹ Avoid : leave the place.

full of rials of plate, which we brought to our ship. And here one Thomas Moone, one of our company, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the town and searching him, he found a chain of gold about him, and other jewels, which he took, and so let him go.

At this place our General, among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugal pilot, which he took at the islands of Cape Verde, out of a ship of S. Mary, port of Portugal: and having set them ashore, we departed hence, and sailed to the island of Canno; where our General landed, and brought to shore his own ship, and discharged her, mended, and graved¹ her, and furnished our ship with water and wood sufficiently. And while we were here, we espied a ship, and set sail after her and took her, and found in her two pilots and a Spanish governor, going for the islands of the Philippinas: we searched the ship, and took some of her merchandise, and so let her go.

Our General at this place and time, thinking himself, both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our country and Prince in general, sufficiently satisfied, and revenged: and supposing that Her Majesty at his return would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and consult of the best way for his country. He thought it not good to return by the straits, for two special causes: the one, lest the Spaniards should there wait and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands, he being left but one ship, could not possibly escape: the other cause, was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the straits in the South Sea, where continual storms reigning and bluster-

¹ Graved: cleaned the outside.

ing, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, he thought it not a good course to adventure that way. He resolved, therefore, to avoid these hazards, to go forward to the islands of the Moluccas; and thence, to sail the course of the Portugals, by the Cape of Buena Esperanza.

* — * * *

The fourteenth of November we fell with the islands of Molucca: which day at night (having directed our course to run with Tydore) in coasting along the island of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his deputy or vice-king seeing us at sea, came with his canoe to us, without all fear, and came aboard, and after some conference with our General, willed him in any wise to run in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, assuring him, that the King would be glad of his coming, and would be ready to do what he would require; for which purpose, he himself would that night be with the King, and tell him the news: with whom if he once dealt, he should find, that as he was a King so his word should stand. Adding further, that if he went to Tydore before he came to Ternate, the King would have nothing to do with us, because he held the Portugal as his enemy. Whereupon our General resolved to run with Ternate where the next morning early we came to anchor; at which time our General sent a messenger to the King with a velvet cloak for a present, and token of his coming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffic and exchange of merchandise, whereof he had great store, in such things as he wanted.

In the meantime the vice-king had been with the King, according to his promise, signifying unto him what good things he might receive from us by traffic: whereby the King was moved with great liking towards us, and sent to our General with special message, that

he should have what things he needed, and would require with peace and friendship : and moreover that he would yield himself, and the right of his island, to be at the pleasure and commandment of so famous a Prince as we served. In token whereof, he sent to our General a signet, and within short time after, came in his own person, with boats and canoes, to our ship, to bring her into a better and safer road than she was in at that present. Our General's messenger being come to the Court, was met by certain noble personages with great solemnity, and brought to the King, at whose hands he was most friendly and graciously entertained.

The King purposing to come to our ship, sent before four great and large canoes, in every one whereof, were certain of his greatest states that were about him, attired in white lawn, of cloth of Calicut, having over their heads, from the one end of the canoe to the other, a covering of thin, perfumed mats, borne up with a frame made of reeds for the same use, under which, every one did sit in his order, according to his dignity, to keep him from the heat of the sun, divers of whom being of good age and gravity, did make an ancient and fatherly show. There were also divers young and comely men, attired in white, as were the others : the rest were soldiers, which stood in comely order, round about on both sides ; without whom, sat the rowers in certain galleries, which being three on a side, all along the canoes, did lie off from the side thereof three or four yards, one being orderly builded lower than another, in every of which galleries were the number of fourscore rowers. These canoes were furnished with warlike munition, every man for the most part having his sword and target, with his dagger, beside other weapons as lances, calivers,¹

¹ Calivers : light muskets.

darts, bows and arrows : also, every canoe had a small cast base, mounted at the least one full yard upon a stock set upright. Thus coming near our ship, in order they rowed about us, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnity, the great personages beginning with great gravity and fatherly countenances, signifying, that the King had sent them to conduct our ship into a better road.

Soon after, the King himself repaired, accompanied with six grave and ancient persons, who did their obeisance with marvellous humility. The King was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our music ; to whom, as also to his nobility, our General gave presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

At length, the King craved leave of our General to depart, promising the next day to come aboard, and in the meantime to send us such victuals as were necessary for our provision : so that the same night we received of them meal, which they called sagu, made of the tops of certain trees, tasting in the mouth like sour curds, but melteth like sugar, whereof they make certain cakes, which may be kept the space of ten years, and are yet then good to be eaten. We had of them store of rice, hens, unperfect and liquid sugar, sugar-canes, and a fruit which they called figo, with store of cloves.

When we had ended our business here, we weighed, and set sail to run for the Moluccas : but having at that time a bad wind, and being amongst the islands, with much difficulty we recovered to the northward of the island of Celebes ; where, by reason of contrary winds, not able to continue our course, to run westwards, we were enforced to alter the same to the southward again, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for us, by reason of infinite shoals, which lie off and

among the islands : whereof we had too much trial, to the hazard and danger of our ship and lives. For upon the ninth of January, in the year 1579 we ran suddenly upon a rock, where we stuck fast from eight of the clock at night, till four of the clock in the afternoon the next day, being indeed out of all hope to escape the danger.

But our General, as he had always hitherto showed himself courageous, and of a good confidence in the mercy and protection of God ; so now he continued in the same : and lest he should seem to perish wilfully, both he and we did our best endeavour to save ourselves, which it pleased God so to bless, that in the end we cleared ourselves most happily of the danger. We lighted our ship upon the rocks of three ton of cloves, eight pieces of ordnance, and certain meal and beans : and then the wind (as it were in a moment, by the special grace of God) changing from the starboard to the larboard of the ship we hoisted our sails, and the happy gale drove our ship off the rock into the sea again, to the no little comfort of all our hearts : for which we gave God such praise and thanks, as so great a benefit required.

The eighth of February following, we fell with the fruitful island of Barateve, having in the meantime suffered many dangers by wind and shoals. At our departure from Barateve we set our course for Java Major, where arriving, we found great courtesy, and honourable entertainment.

From Java Major we sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, which was the first land we fell withal : neither did we touch with it, or any other land, until we came to Sierra Leone, upon the coast of Guinea : notwithstanding we ran hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be most false, who affirm that it is

the most dangerous cape in the world, never without intolerable storms and present danger to travellers, which come near the same. This cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it the 18 of June. From thence we continued our course to Sierra Leone, on the coast of Guinea, where we arrived the 2 of July, and found necessary provisions, great store of elephants, oysters upon trees of one kind, spawning and increasing infinitely, the oyster suffering no bud to grow. We departed thence the 24 day.

We arrived in England the third of November 1580, being the third year of our departure.

From "Hakluyt's Voyages," 1598.

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S DEATH

1583

So upon Saturday in the afternoon of the 31st of August, we changed our course, and returned back for England, at which very instant, even in winding about, there passed along between us and towards the land which we now forsook a very lion to our seeming in shape, hair and colour, not swimming after the manner of a beast by moving of his feet, but rather sliding upon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in sight, neither yet diving under, and again rising above the water, as the manner is of whales, dolphins, tunnies, porpoises and all other fish : but confidently showing himself above water without hiding : notwithstanding, we presented ourselves in open view and gesture to amaze him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ugly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eyes, and to bid us a farewell (coming right against the *Hind*) he sent forth a horrible voice, roaring or bellowing as doth a lion, which spectacle we all beheld so far as we were able to discern the same, as men prone to wonder at every strange thing, as this doubtless was, to see a lion in the ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the General himself, I forbear to deliver : but he took it for *bonum omen*, rejoicing that he was to war against such an enemy, if it were the devil.

The wind was large for England at our return, but very high and the sea rough, insomuch as the frigate wherein the General went was almost swallowed up.

Monday in the afternoon we passed in the sight of Cape Race, having made as much way in little more than two days and nights back again, as before we had done in eight days from Cape Race, unto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back again, is to be imputed unto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our return.

This Monday the General came aboard the *Hind* to have the surgeon of the *Hind* to dress his foot, which he hurt by treading upon a nail : at what time we comforted each other with hope of hard success to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to carry out lights always by night, that we might keep together, he departed into his frigate, being by no means to be entreated to tarry in the *Hind*, which had been more for his security. Immediately after followed a sharp storm, which we overpassed for that time. Praised be God.

The weather fair, the General came aboard the *Hind* again, to make merry together with the Captain, Master, and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning until night. During which time there passed sundry discourses, touching affairs past and to come, lamenting greatly the loss of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all of his books and notes, and what else I know not, for which he was out of measure grieved, the same doubtless being some matter of more importance than his books, which I could not draw from him : yet by circumstance I gathered, the same to be the ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought unto him in the New Found Land. Whatsoever it was, the remembrance touched him so deep, as not able to contain himself, he beat his boy in great rage, even at the same time, so long

after the miscarrying of the great ship, because upon a fair day, when we were becalmed upon the coast of the New Found Land, near unto Cape Race, he sent his boy aboard the Admiral, to fetch certain things : amongst which, this being chief, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could never conveniently send again aboard the great ship, much less he doubted her ruin so near at hand.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diversely, and by sundry conjectures, which maketh me have the greater hope of this rich mine. For whereas the General had never before good conceit of these north parts of the world, now his mind was wholly fixed upon the New Found Land. And as before he refused not to grant assignments liberally to them that required the same into these north parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of S. John's, which certain English merchants made suit for, offering to employ their money and travail upon the same : yet neither by their own suit, nor of others of his own company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, could it be obtained.

Also laying down his determination in the spring following, for disposing of his voyage then to be attempted : he assigned the Captain and Master of the *Golden Hind* unto the South discovery, and reserved unto himself the North, affirming that this voyage had won his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northern man altogether.

Last, being demanded what means he had at his arrival in England, to compass the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next spring : having determined upon two fleets, one for the South, another for the North : leave that to me, (he replied,) I will ask a penny of no man. I will bring good tidings

unto Her Majesty, who will be so gracious, to lend me £10,000, willing us therefore to be of good cheer : for he did thank God (he said) with all his heart, for that he had seen, the same being enough for us all, and that we needed not to seek any further. And these last words he would often repeat, with demonstrations of great fervency of mind, being himself very confident, and settled in belief of inestimable good by this voyage : which the greater number of his followers nevertheless mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets which the General kept unto himself. Yet all of them that are living, may be witnesses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I have delivered.

Leaving the issue of this good hope unto God, who knoweth the truth only, and can at His good pleasure bring the same to light : I will hasten to the end of this tragedy, which must be knit up in the person of our General. And as it was God's ordinance upon him, even so the vehement persuasion and entreaty of his friends could nothing avail, to divert him from a wilful resolution of going through in his frigate, which was overcharged upon the decks, with fights, nettings, and small artillery, too cumbersome for so small a boat, that was to pass through the ocean sea at that season of the year, when by course we might expect much storm of foul weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

But when he was entreated by the Captain, Master, and other his well wishers of the *Hind*, not to venture in the frigate, this was his answer : I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils. And in very truth, he was urged to be so overhard, by hard reports given of him, that he was afraid of the sea, albeit this was rather rashness, than advised resolution, to prefer the wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life.

Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had provision out of the *Hind*, such as was wanting aboard his frigate. And so we committed him to God's protection, and set him aboard his pinnace, we being more than 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of Azores south of us, yet we then keeping much to the north, until we had got into the height and elevation of England : we met with very foul weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high pyramid wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceed either of hilly grounds high and low within the sea (as we see hills and dales upon the land), upon which the seas do mount and fall : or else the cause proceedeth of diversity of winds, shifting often in sundry points ; all which, having power to move the great ocean, which again is not presently settled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had been diversity of winds. Howsoever it cometh to pass, men which all their lifetime had occupied the sea, never saw more outrageous seas. We had also upon our mainyard an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen do call Castor and Pollux. But we had only one, which they take an evil sign of more tempest : the same is usual in storms.

Monday the ninth of September, in the afternoon, the frigate was near cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered : and giving forth signs of joy, the General sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out unto us in the *Hind* (so oft as we did approach within hearing) : We are as near to heaven by sea as by land. Reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a soldier, resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was.

The same Monday night, about twelve of the clock, or not long after, the frigate being ahead of us in the *Golden Hind*, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it



SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S FRIGATE, THE *SQUIRELL*.

were in a moment, we lost the sight, and withal our watch cried the General was cast away, which was too true. For in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and ever after, until we arrived upon the coast of England: omitting no small sail at sea, unto which we gave not the tokens between us, agreed upon, to have perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

In great torment of weather, and peril of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the *Golden Hind*, which arrived in Falmouth, the 22nd day of September, being Sunday.

From "Hakluyt's Voyages," 1598

DRAKE AT CADIZ

1587

HER MAJESTY being informed of a mighty preparation by sea begun in Spain for the invasion of England, by good advice of her grave and prudent Council thought it expedient to prevent the same. Whereupon she caused a fleet of some thirty sails to be rigged and furnished with all things necessary. Over that fleet she appointed General Sir Francis Drake (of whose manifold former good services she had sufficient proof), to whom she caused four ships of her navy royal to be delivered, to wit, the *Bonaventure*, wherein himself went as General; the *Lion*, under the conduct of Master William Borough, Controllor of the Navy; the *Dreadnought*, under the command of M. Thomas Venner; and the *Rainbow*, captain whereof was M. Henry Bellingham: unto which four ships two of her pinnaces were appointed as hand-maids. There were also added unto this fleet certain tall ships of the City of London, of whose especial good service the General made particular mention in his private letters directed to her Majesty. This fleet set sail from the Sound of Plymouth in the month of April toward the coast of Spain.

The 16th of the said month, we met in the latitude of forty degrees with two ships of Middleborough, which came from Cadiz; by which we understood that there was great store of warlike provisions at Cadiz and thereabout ready to come for Lisbon. Upon this information

our General with all speed possible, bending himself thither to cut off their said forces and provisions, upon the 19th of April entered with his fleet into the harbour of Cadiz : where at our first entering we were assailed over against the town by six galleys, which notwithstanding in short time retired under their fortress.

There were in the road sixty ships and divers other small vessels under the fortress : there fled about twenty French ships to Port Reale, and some small Spanish vessels that might pass the shoals. At our first coming in we sank with our shot a ship of Ragusa of 100 tons, furnished with forty pieces of brass and very richly laden. There came two galleys more from Saint Mary port, and two from Porto Reale, which shot freely at us, but altogether in vain : for they went away well beaten for their pains.

Before night we had taken thirty of the said ships, and became masters of the road, in despite of the galleys, which were glad to retire them under the fort : in the number of which ships there was one new ship of an extraordinary hugeness in burden, above 1,200 tons, belonging to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, being at that instant High Admiral of Spain. Five of them were great ships of Biscay, whereof four we fired, as they were taking in the King's provision of victuals for the furnishing of his fleet at Lisbon : the fifth being a ship about 1,000 tons in burden, laden with iron-spikes, nails, iron hoops, horse-shoes, and other like necessities, bound for the West Indies ; we fired her in like manner. Also we took a ship of 250 tons laden with wines for the King's provision, which we carried out to the sea with us, and there discharged the said wines for our own store, and afterward set her on fire. Moreover, we took three flyboats of 300 tons apiece laden with biscuit, whereof one was half unladen by us in the harbour, and there fired, and the

other two we took in our company to the sea. Likewise there were fired by us ten other ships which were laden with wine, raisins, figs, oils, wheat, and such like. To conclude, the whole number of ships and barques (as we suppose) then burnt, sunk, and brought away with us, amounted to thirty at the least, being (in our judgment) about 10,000 tons of shipping.

There were in sight of us at Porto Reale about forty ships, besides those that fled from Cadiz.

We found little ease during our abode there, by reason of their continual shooting from the galleys, the fortresses, and from the shore : where continually at places convenient they planted new ordnance to offend us with : besides the inconvenience which we suffered from their ships, which, when they could defend no longer, they set on fire to come among us. Whereupon when the flood came we were not a little troubled to defend us from their terrible fire, which nevertheless was a pleasant sight for us to behold, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay upon us day and night, in discharging the victuals, and other provisions of the enemy. Thus by the assistance of the Almighty, and the invisible courage and industry of our General, this strange and happy enterprise was achieved in one day and two nights, to the great astonishment of the King of Spain, which bred such a corrosive in the heart of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, High Admiral of Spain, that he never enjoyed good day after, but within few months died of extreme grief and sorrow.

Thus having performed this notable service, we came out of the road of Cadiz on the Friday morning the 21st of the said month of April, with very small loss not worth the mentioning.

After our departure, ten of the galleys that were in the road came out, as it were in disdain of us, to make some

pastime with their ordnance, at which time the wind scanted upon us, whereupon we cast about again, and stood in with the shore, and came to anchor within a league of the town : where the said galleys, for all their former bragging, at length suffered us to ride quietly.

We now have had experience of galley-fight : wherein I can assure you, that only these four of her Majesty's ships will make no account of twenty galleys, if they may be alone, and not busied to guard others. There were never galleys that had better place and fitter opportunity for their advantage to fight with ships : but they were still forced to retire, we riding into a narrow gut, the place yielding no better, and driven to maintain the same, until we had discharged and fired the ships, which could not conveniently be done but upon the flood, at which time they might drive clear off us. Thus being victualled with bread and wine at the enemy's cost for divers months (besides the provisions that we brought from home), our General despatched Captain Crosse into England with his letters, giving him further in charge to declare unto her Majesty all the particularities of this our first enterprise.

After whose departure we shaped our course toward Cape Sacre, and in the way thither we took at several times of ships, barques, and caravels well near a hundred, laden with hoops, galley-oars, pipe-staves, and other provisions of the King of Spain, for the furnishing of his forces intended against England, all which we burned, having dealt favourably with the men and sent them on shore. We also spoiled and consumed all the fisher-boats and nets thereabouts, to their great hindrance : and (we suppose) to the utter overthrow of the rich fishing of their tunny for the same year. At length we came to the aforesaid Cape Sacre, where we went on land ; and the better to enjoy the benefit of the place, and to ride

in harbour at our pleasure, we assailed the same castle, and three other strongholds, which we took, some by force and some by surrender.

Thence we came before the haven of Lisbon, anchoring near unto Cascais, where the Marquis of Santa Cruz was with his galleys, who, seeing us chase his ships ashore, and take and carry away his barques and caravels, was content to suffer us there quietly to tarry, and likewise to depart, and never charged us with one cannon-shot. And when our General sent him word that he was there ready to exchange certain bullets with him, the Marquis refused his challenge, sending him word that he was not then ready for him, nor had any such commission from his King.

Our General, thus refused by the Marquis, and seeing no more good to be done in this place, thought it convenient to spend no longer time upon this coast: and therefore with consent of the chief of his company he shaped his course toward the Isles of the Azores, and passing towards the Isle of St. Michael's, within twenty or thirty leagues thereof it was his good fortune to meet with a Portugal carrack called *Saint Philip*, being the same ship which in the voyage outward had carried the three princes of Japan, that were in Europe, into the Indies. This carrack without any great resistance he took, bestowing the people thereof in certain vessels well furnished with victuals, and sending them courteously home into their country: and this was the first carrack that ever was taken coming forth of the East Indies; which the Portugals took for an evil sign, because the ship bare the King's own name.

The riches of this prize seemed so great unto the whole company (as in truth it was), that they assured themselves every man to have a sufficient reward for his travail: and thereupon they all resolved to return home

for England ; which they happily did, and arrived in Plymouth the same summer with their whole fleet and this rich booty, to their own profit and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdom.

And here by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this carrack wrought two extraordinary effects in England : first that it taught others that carracks were no such bugs but that they might be taken (as since indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the *Madre de Dios*, and firing and sinking of others), and secondly, in acquainting the English nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies : whereby themselves and their neighbours of Holland have been encouraged, being men as skilful in navigation and of no less courage than the Portugals to share with them in the East Indies, where their strength is nothing so great as heretofore hath been supposed.

From " Hakluyt's Voyages," 1598

A LETTER OF MASTER THOMAS CANDISH

1588

It hath pleased the Almighty to suffer me to circumpass the whole globe of the world, entering in at the Strait of Magellan, and returning by the Cape de Buena Esperanza, in which voyage I have either discovered, or brought certain intelligence of all the rich places of the world that ever were known or discovered by any Christian.

I navigated along the coast of Chili, Peru, and Nueva Espanna, where I made great spoils : I burnt and sank nineteen sails of ships small and great. All the villages and towns that ever I landed at, I burnt and spoiled : and had I not been discovered upon the coast, I had taken great quantity of treasure. The matter of most profit unto me was a great ship of the King's which I took at California, which ship came from the Philippinas, being one of the richest of merchandise that ever passed those seas, as the King's register and merchants' accounts did show. Which goods (for that my ships were not able to contain the least part of them) I was enforced to set on fire.

From the Cape of California, being the uttermost part of all Nueva Espanna, I navigated to the Islands of the Philippinas, hard upon the coast of China ; of which country I have brought such intelligence as hath not been

heard of in these parts. The stateliness and riches of which country I fear to make report of, lest I should not be credited : for if I had not known sufficiently the incomparable wealth of that country, I should have been as incredulous thereof as others will be that have not had the like experience. I sailed along the Islands of the Moluccas, where among some of the heathen people I was well entreated, where our countrymen may have trade as freely as the Portugals, if they will themselves. From thence I passed by the Cape of Buena Esperanza, and found out by the way homeward the Island of S. Helena, where the Portugals use to relieve themselves : and from that island God hath suffered me to return into England. All which services, with my self, I humbly prostrate at her Majesty's feet, desiring the Almighty long to continue her reign among us : for at this day she is the most famous and victorious Prince that liveth in the world.

From " Purchas His Pilgrims," 1625

THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

1588

A VERY large and particular description of this Navy was put in print and published by the Spaniards ; wherein were set down the number, names, and burdens of the ships, the number of mariners and soldiers throughout the whole fleet ; likewise the quantity of their ordnance, of their armour, of bullets, of match, of gunpowder, of victuals, and of all their naval furniture was in the said description particularized. Unto all these were added the names of the governors, captains, noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries, of whom there was so great a multitude, that scarce was there any family of account, or any principal man throughout all Spain, that had not a brother, son or kinsman in that fleet : who all of them were in good hope to purchase unto themselves in that Navy (as they termed it) invincible, endless glory and renown, and to possess themselves of great Seigniories and riches in England, and in the Low Countries.

The number of mariners in the said fleet was above 8,000, of slaves 2,000, of soldiers 20,000 (besides noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries ¹), of great cast pieces 2,650. The foresaid ships were of a huge and incredible capacity and receipt. For the whole fleet was large enough to contain the burden of 60,000 tons.

¹ Voluntaries : volunteers.

The galleons were sixty-four in number, being of a huge bigness, and very stately built, being of marvellous force also, and so high, that they resembled great castles, most fit to defend themselves and to withstand any assault, but in giving any other ships the encounter far inferior unto the English and Dutch ships, which can with great dexterity wield and turn themselves at all assays. The upper work of the said galleons was of thickness and strength sufficient to bear off musket-shot. The lower work and the timbers thereof were out of measure strong, being framed of planks and ribs four or five feet in thickness, insomuch that no bullets could pierce them, but such as were discharged hard at hand : which afterward proved true, for a great number of bullets were found to stick fast within the massive substance of those thick planks. Great and well-pitched cables were twined about the masts of their ships, to strengthen them against the battery of shot.

The galliasses were of such bigness, that they contained within them chambers, chapels, turrets, pulpits, and other commodities of great houses. The galliasses were rowed with great oars, there being in each one of them 300 slaves for the same purpose, and were able to do great service with the force of their ordnance. All these, together with the residue aforementioned, were furnished and beautified with trumpets, streamers, banners, warlike ensigns, and other suchlike ornaments.

At length the French King, about the end of May, signified unto her Majesty in plain terms that she should stand upon her guard, because he was now most certainly informed that there was so dangerous an invasion imminent upon her realm, that he feared much lest all her land and sea-forces would be sufficient to withstand it. Then began the Queen's Majesty more carefully to gather her forces together, and to furnish her own ships of war, and

the principal ships of her subjects with soldiers, weapons, and other necessary provision. The greatest and strongest ships of the whole navy she sent unto Plymouth under the conduct of the Right Honourable Lord Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, under whom the renowned Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-Admiral. The number of these was about a hundred. The lesser ships being thirty or forty in number, and under the conduct of Lord Henry Seymour, were commanded to lie between Dover and Calais.

On the land likewise throughout the whole realm, soldiers were mustered and trained in all places, and were committed unto the most resolute and faithful captains. And whereas it was commonly given out that the Spaniard having once united himself unto the Duke of Parma, meant to invade by the river of Thames, there was at Tilbury in Essex, over against Gravesend, a mighty army encamped, and on both sides of the river fortifications were erected, according to the prescription of Frederick Genebelli, an Italian engineer. Likewise there were certain ships brought to make a bridge, though it was very late first.

In the meantime the Spanish Armada set sail out of the haven of Lisbon upon the 19th of May, 1588, under the conduct of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, directing their course for the Bay of Corunna, alias the Groin of Galicia, where they took in soldiers and warlike provision, this port being in Spain the nearest unto England. As they were sailing along, there arose such a mighty tempest, that the whole fleet was dispersed, so that when the Duke was returned unto his company, he could not descry above eighty ships in all, whereunto the residue by little and little joined themselves, except eight which had their masts blown overboard. One of the four galleys of Portugal escaped very hardly, retiring herself into the haven. The other

three were upon the coast of Bayonne in France, by the assistance and courage of one David Gwin, an English captive (whom the French and Turkish slaves aided in the same enterprise), utterly disabled and vanquished.

The navy having refreshed themselves at the Groin, and receiving daily commandment from the King to hasten their journey, hoisted up sails the 11th day of July, and so holding on their course till the 19th of the same month, they came then unto the mouth of the narrow seas of the English Channel. From whence (striking their sails in the mean season) they dispatched certain of their small ships unto the Duke of Parma. At the same time the Spanish fleet was descried by an English pinnace, captain whereof was M. Thomas Fleming.

The Lord High Admiral of England being thus on the sudden, namely upon the 19th of July about four of the clock in the afternoon, informed by the pinnace of Captain Fleming aforesaid, of the Spaniards' approach, with all speed and diligence possible he warped¹ his ships, and caused his mariners and soldiers to come on board. The very next day being the 20th of July about high noon, was the Spanish fleet descried by the English, which with a south-west wind came sailing along, and passed by Plymouth : in which regard (according to the judgment of many skilful navigators) they greatly overshot themselves ; whereas it had been more commodious for them to have stayed themselves there, considering that the Englishmen being as yet unprovided, greatly relied upon their own forces, and knew not the estate of the Spanish navy. Moreover, this was the most convenient port of all others, where they might with greater security have been advertised of the English forces, and how the commons of the land stood affected, and might have stirred

¹ Warped : towed out.

up some mutiny, so that hither they should have bent all their puissance, and from hence the Duke of Parma might more easily have conveyed his ships.

But this they were prohibited to do by the King and his Council, and were expressly commanded to unite themselves unto the soldiers and ships of the said Duke of Parma, and so to bring their purpose to effect. Which was thought to be the most easy and direct course, for that they imagined that the English and Dutch men would be utterly daunted and dismayed thereat, and would each man of them retire unto his own province and port for the defence thereof, and transporting the army of the Duke under the protection of their huge navy, they might invade England.

Thus often advertising the Duke of Parma of their approach, the 20th of July they passed by Plymouth, while the English ships pursuing and getting the wind of them, gave them the chase and the encounter, and so both fleets frankly exchanged their bullets.

The day following, which was the 21st of July, the English ships approached within musket-shot of the Spanish : at what time the Lord Charles Howard most hotly and valiantly discharged his ordnance upon the Spanish Vice-Admiral. The Spaniards then well perceiving the nimbleness of the English ships in discharging upon the enemy on all sides, gathered themselves close into the form of a half-moon, and slackened their sails, lest they should outgo any of their company. And while they were proceeding on in this manner, one of their great galliasses was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole navy was fain to come up rounder together for the safeguard thereof : whereby it came to pass that the principal galleon of Seville (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vasques de Silva, Alonzo de Sayas, and other noblemen were embarked) falling foul of another ship, had her fore-

mast broken, and by that means was not able to keep way with the Spanish fleet, neither would the said fleet stay to succour it, but left the distressed galleon behind.

The Lord Admiral of England when he saw this ship of Valdez, and thought she had been void of mariners and soldiers, taking with him as many ships as he could, passed by it, that he might not lose sight of the Spanish fleet that night. For Sir Francis Drake (who was notwithstanding appointed to bear out his lantern that night) was giving of chase unto five great hulks which had separated themselves from the Spanish fleet: but finding them to be Easterlings,¹ he dismissed them. The Lord Admiral all that night following the Spanish lantern instead of the English, found himself in the morning to be in the midst of his enemy's fleet, but when he perceived it, he cleanly conveyed himself out of that great danger.

The day following, which was the 22nd of July, Sir Francis Drake espied Valdez his ship, whereunto he sent forth his pinnace, and being advertised that Valdez himself was there, and 450 persons with him, he sent him word that he should yield himself. Valdez, for his honour's sake, caused certain conditions to be propounded unto Drake: who answered Valdez that he was not now at leisure to make any longer parley, but if he would yield himself, he should find him friendly and tractable; howbeit if he had resolved to die in fight, he should prove Drake to be no dastard.

Upon which answer Valdez and his company understanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being moved with the renown and celebrity of his name, with one consent yielded themselves, and found him very favourable unto them. Then Valdez, with

¹ Easterlings: men from the Baltic provinces.

forty or fifty noblemen and gentlemen pertaining unto him, came on board Sir Francis Drake's ship. The residue of his company were carried into Plymouth, where they were detained a year and a half for their ransom.

Valdez coming unto Drake and humbly kissing his hand protested unto him, that he and his had resolved to die in battle, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right courteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by general report to be most favourable unto his vanquished foe ; insomuch that he said it was to be doubted whether his enemies had more cause to admire and love him for his great, valiant, and prosperous exploits, or to dread him for his singular felicity and wisdom, which ever attended upon him in the wars, and by which he had attained unto so great honour. With that Drake embraced him and gave him very honourable entertainment, feeding him at his own table, and lodging him in his cabin.

Here Valdez began to recount unto Drake the forces of all the Spanish fleet, and how four mighty galleys were separated by tempest from them ; and also how they were determined first to have put into Plymouth haven, not expecting to be repelled thence by the English ships, which they thought could by no means withstand their impregnable forces, persuading themselves that by means of their huge fleet they were become lords and commanders of the main ocean. For which cause they marvelled much how the Englishmen in their small ships durst approach within musket-shot of the Spaniards' mighty wooden castles, gathering the wind of them with many other such-like attempts.

Immediately after, Valdez and his company, being a man of principal authority in the Spanish fleet, and being descended of one and the same family with that Valdez which in the year 1574 besieged Leyden in Holland, were

sent captives into England. There were in the said ship 55,000 ducats in ready money of the Spanish King's gold, which the soldiers merrily shared among themselves.

The same day was set on fire one of their greatest ships, being Admiral of the squadron of Guipusco, and being the ship of Michael de Oquendo, Vice-Admiral of the whole fleet, which contained great store of gunpowder and other warlike provision. The upper part only of this ship was burnt, and all the persons therein contained (except a very few) were consumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the English, and brought into England with a number of miserable burnt and scorched Spaniards. Howbeit the gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and unconsumed.

In the mean season the Lord Admiral of England in his ship called the *Arke-royall*, all that night pursued the Spaniards so near, that in the morning he was almost left alone in the enemy's fleet, and it was four of the clock at afternoon before the residue of the English fleet could overtake him.

Upon the Tuesday, which was the 23rd of July, the navy being come over against Portland, the wind began to turn northerly, insomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to invade the English. But the Englishmen having lesser and nimbler ships, recovered again the vantage of the wind from the Spaniards, whereat the Spaniards seemed to be more incensed to fight than before. But when the English fleet had continually and without intermission from morning to night beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small; the Spaniards uniting themselves, gathered their whole fleet close together into a roundel,¹ so that it was apparent that they meant not as yet to invade others, but only

¹ Roundel : circle.

to defend themselves and to make haste unto the place prescribed unto them, which was near unto Dunkirk, that they might join forces with the Duke of Parma, who was determined to have proceeded secretly with his small ships under the shadow and protection of the great ones, and so had intended circumspectly to perform the whole expedition. This was the most furious skirmish of all, in which the Lord Admiral of England continued fighting amidst his enemy's fleet, and seeing one of his captains afar off, he spake unto him in these words : Oh George, what doest thou ? Wilt thou now frustrate my hope and opinion conceived of thee ? Wilt thou forsake me now ? With which words he, being inflamed, approached forthwith, encountered the enemy, and did the part of a most valiant captain. His name was George Fenner, a man who had been conversant in many sea-fights.

In this conflict there was a certain great Venetian ship with other small ships surprised and taken by the English.

The English navy in the meanwhile increased, whereunto out of all havens of the realm resorted ships and men : for they all with one accord came flocking thither as unto a set field, where immortal fame and glory was to be attained, and faithful service to be performed unto their prince and country. And so it came to pass that the number of the English ships amounted unto a hundred ; which when they were come before Dover, were increased to a hundred and thirty, being notwithstanding of no proportionable bigness to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three and twenty of the Queen's greater ships, which only, by reason of their presence, bred an opinion on the Spaniards' minds concerning the power of the English fleet : the mariners and soldiers whereof were esteemed to be twelve thousand.

The 24th of July, whenas the sea was calm, and no wind

stirring, the fight was only between the English ships and the four great galliasses, which, being rowed with oars, had great vantage of the said English ships, which notwithstanding for all that would not be forced to yield, but discharged their chain-shot to cut asunder the cables and cordage of the galliasses, with many other such stratagems. They were now constrained to send their men on land for a new supply of gunpowder, whereof they were in great scarcity, by reason they had so frankly spent the greater part in the former conflicts.

The same day, a Council being assembled, it was decreed that the English fleet should be divided into four squadrons : the principal whereof was committed unto the Lord Admiral : the second, to Sir Francis Drake : the third, to Captain Hawkins : the fourth, to Captain Frobisher.

The Spaniards in their sailing observed very diligent and good order, sailing three and four, and sometimes more ships in a rank, and following close up one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser.

The 25th of July, when the Spaniards were come over against the Isle of Wight, the Lord Admiral of England being accompanied with his best ships (namely the *Lion*, Captain whereof was the Lord Thomas Howard : The *Elizabeth Jonas* under the commandment of Sir Robert Southwell, son-in-law unto the Lord Admiral : the *Beare* under the Lord Sheffield, nephew unto the Lord Admiral : the *Victorie* under Captain Barker : and the galleon *Leicester* under the forenamed Captain George Fenner) with great valour and dreadful thundering of shot, encountered the Spanish Admiral in the very midst of all his fleet. Which when the Spaniard perceived, being assisted with his strongest ships, he came forth and entered a terrible combat with the English : for they

bestowed each on other the broad sides, and mutually discharged all their ordnance, being within one hundred or an hundred and twenty yards one of another.

At length the Spaniards hoisted up their sails, and again gathered themselves up close into the form of a roundel. In the meanwhile Captain Frobisher had engaged himself into a most dangerous conflict. Whereupon the Lord Admiral coming to succour him, found that he had valiantly and discreetly behaved himself, and that he had wisely and in good time given over the fight, because that after so great a battery he had sustained no damage.

For which cause the day following, being the 26th of July, the Lord Admiral rewarded him with the order of Knighthood, together with the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Sheffield, M. John Hawkins and others.

The 27th of July, the Spaniards about the sunsetting were come over against Dover, and rode at anchor within the sight of Calais, intending to hold on for Dunkirk, expecting there to join with the Duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to do little or nothing.

Likewise the English fleet, following up hard upon them, anchored just by them within culverin-shot. And here the Lord Henry Seymour united himself unto the Lord Admiral with his fleet of thirty ships which rode before the mouth of Thames.

The Duke of Parma, being advertised of the Spanish fleet's arrival upon the coast of England, made all the haste he could to be present himself in this expedition for the performance of his charge.

Upon Tuesday, which was the thirtieth of July, about high noon, he came to Dunkirk, when as all the Spanish fleet was now passed by : neither durst any of his ships in the mean space come forth to assist the said Spanish

fleet for fear of five-and-thirty warlike ships of Holland and Zeeland, which there kept watch and ward under the conduct of the Admiral Justin of Nassau.

The foresaid five-and-thirty ships were furnished with most cunning mariners and old expert soldiers, amongst the which were twelve hundred musketeers, whom the States had chosen out of all their garrisons, and whom they knew to have been heretofore experienced in sea-fights.

This navy was given especially in charge not to suffer any ship to come out of the haven, nor to permit any zabraes, pataches or other small vessels of the Spanish fleet (which were more likely to aid the Dunkirkers) to enter thereinto, for the greater ships were not to be feared by reason of the shallow sea in that place. Howbeit the Prince of Parma his forces being as yet unready, were not come on board his ships, only the English fugitives being seven hundred in number under the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to have been embarked, because they hoped to give the first assault against England. The residue showed themselves unwilling and loath to depart, because they saw but a few mariners, who were by constraint drawn into this expedition, and also because they had very bare provision of bread, drink, and other necessary victuals.

Moreover, the ships of Holland and Zeeland stood continually in their sight, threatening shot and powder, and many inconveniences unto them : for fear of which ships, the mariners and seamen secretly withdrew themselves both day and night, lest that the Duke of Parma his soldiers should compel them by main force to go on board, and to break through the Hollanders' fleet, which all of them judged to be impossible by reason of the straightness of the haven.

But it seemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spani-

ards grounded upon a vain and presumptuous expectation, that all the ships of England and of the Low Countries would at the first sight of the Spanish and Dunkirk navy have betaken themselves to flight, yielding them sea room, and endeavouring only to defend themselves, their havens, and sea coasts from invasion. Wherefore their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of Parma in his small and flat-bottomed ships, should as it were under the shadow and wings of the Spanish fleet, convey over all his troops, armour, and warlike provision, and with their forces so united, should invade England ; or while the English fleet was busied in fight against the Spanish, should enter upon any part of the coast which he thought to be most convenient. Which invasion (as the captives afterwards confessed) the Duke of Parma thought first to have attempted by the river of Thames ; upon the banks whereof having at his first arrival landed twenty or thirty thousand of his principal soldiers, he supposed that he might easily have won the City of London ; both because his small ships should have followed and assisted his land forces, and also for that the City itself was but meanly fortified and easy to overcome, by reason of the citizens' delicacy and discontinuance from the wars, who with continual and constant labour might be vanquished, if they yielded not at the first assault. They were in good hope also to have met with some rebels against her Majesty, and such as were discontented with the present state, as Papists and others. Likewise they looked for aid from the favourers of the Scottish Queen, who was not long before put to death ; all which they thought would have stirred up seditions and factions.

Whenas therefore the Spanish fleet rode at anchor before Calais, to the end they might consult with the Duke of Parma what was best to be done according to the King's commandment, and the present estate of their



THE SPANISH ARMADA FLEEING FROM THE FIRE-SHIPS.

affairs, and had now purposed upon the 2nd of August, with one power and consent to have put their intended business in practice ; the Lord Admiral of England being admonished by her Majesty's letters from the Court, thought it most expedient either to drive the Spanish fleet from that place, or at leastways to give them the encounter : and for that cause (according to her Majesty's prescription) he took forthwith eight of his worst and basest ships which came next to hand, and disburdening them of all things which seemed to be of any value, filled them with gunpowder, pitch, brimstone, and with other combustible and fiery matter ; and charging all their ordnance with powder, bullets and stones, he sent the said ships upon the 28th of July, about two of the clock after midnight, with the wind and tide against the Spanish fleet : which when they had proceeded a good space, being forsaken of the pilots, and set on fire, were directly carried upon the King of Spain's Navy. This fire in the dead of the night put the Spaniards into such perplexity and horror, that cutting their cables whereon their anchors were fastened, and hoisting up their sails, they betook themselves very confusedly into the main sea.

In this sudden confusion, the principal and greatest of the four galliasses falling foul of another ship, lost her rudder : for which cause when she could not be guided any longer, she was by the force of the tide cast into a certain shoal upon the shore of Calais, where she was immediately assaulted by divers English pinnaces, hoys and drumblers.

And as they lay battering of her with their ordnance, and durst not board her, the Lord Admiral sent thither his long boat with a hundred choice soldiers under the command of Captain Amias Preston. Upon whose approach their fellows being more emboldened, did offer

to board the galliass : against whom the governor thereof and captain of all the four galliasses, Hugo de Monçada, stoutly posed himself, fighting by so much the more valiantly, in that he hoped presently to be succoured by the Duke of Parma. In the mean season Monçada, after he had endured the conflict a good while, being hit on the head with a bullet, fell down stark dead, and a great number of Spaniards also were slain in his company. The greater part of the residue leaping overboard into the sea, to save themselves by swimming, were most of them drowned. Howbeit there escaped among others Don Antonio de Manriques, a principal officer in the Spanish fleet (called by them their Veador, general) together with a few Spaniards besides : which Antonio was the first man that carried certain news of the success of the fleet into Spain.

This huge and monstrous galliass, wherein were contained three hundred slaves to lug at the oars, and four hundred soldiers, was in the space of three hours rifled in the same place ; and there were found amongst divers other commodities 50,000 ducats of the Spanish King's treasure. At length when the slaves were released out of their fetters, the Englishmen would have set the said ship on fire, which Monsieur Gourdon the governor of Calais, for fear of the damage which might thereupon ensue to the town and haven, would not permit them to do, but drave them from thence with his great ordnance.

Upon the 29th of July, in the morning, the Spanish fleet after the foresaid tumult, having arranged themselves again into order, were, within sight of Gravelines, most bravely and furiously encountered by the English ; where they once again got the wind of the Spaniards : who suffered themselves to be deprived of the commodity of the place in Calais road, and of the advantage of the wind near unto Dunkirk, rather than they would change their

array or separate their forces now enjoined and united together, standing only upon their defence.

And howbeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarce were there twenty-two or twenty-three among them all which matched ninety of the Spanish ships in bigness, or could conveniently assault them. Wherefore the English ships using their prerogative of nimble stirrage, whereby they could turn and wield themselves with the wind which way they listed, came oftentimes very near upon the Spaniards, and charged them so sore, that now and then they were but a pike's length asunder, and so, continually giving them one broad side after another, they discharged all their shot both great and small upon them, spending one whole day from morning till night in that violent kind of conflict, until such time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it convenient not to pursue the Spaniards any longer, because they had many great vantages of the English, namely for the extraordinary bigness of their ships, and also for that they were so nearly enjoined, and kept together in so good array, that they could by no means be fought withal one to one. The English thought, therefore, that they had right well acquitted themselves, in chasing the Spaniards first from Calais, and then from Dunkirk, and by that means to have hindered them from joining with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the wind of them, to have driven them from their own coasts.

The Spaniards that day sustained great loss and damage, having many of their ships shot through and through, and they discharged likewise great store of ordnance against the English, who indeed sustained some hindrance, but not comparable to the Spaniards' loss : for they lost not any one ship or person of account. For very diligent inquisition being made, the Englishmen all

that time wherein the Spanish navy sailed upon their seas, are not found to have wanted above one hundredth of their people : howbeit Sir Francis Drake's ship was pierced with shot above forty times, and his very cabin was twice shot through, and about the conclusion of the fight, the bed of a certain gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from under him with the force of a bullet.¹ Likewise, as the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner upon a time, the bullet of a demi-culverin brake through the midst of their cabin, touched their feet, and struck down two of the standers-by ; with many such accidents befalling the English ships, which it were tedious to rehearse. Whereupon it is most apparent, that God miraculously preserved the English nation. For the Lord Admiral wrote unto her Majesty that in all human reason, and according to the judgment of all men (every circumstance being duly considered) the Englishmen were not of any such force, whereby they might, without miracle, dare once to approach within sight of the Spanish fleet : insomuch that they freely ascribed all the honour of their victory unto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect.

The same day the Spanish ships were so battered with English shot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them sank right down : and among the rest a certain great ship of Biscay, which Captain Crosse assaulted, which perished even in the time of the conflict, so that very few therein escaped drowning ; who reported that the governors of the same ship slew one another upon the occasion following : one of them which would have yielded the ship was suddenly slain ; the brother of the slain party in revenge of his death slew the murderer, and in the meanwhile the ship sank.

¹ Bullet : cannon ball.

The same night two Portugal galleons of the burden of seven or eight hundred tons apiece, to wit the *Saint Philip* and the *Saint Matthew*, were forsaken of the Spanish fleet, for they were so torn with shot, that the water entered into them on all sides. In the galleon of *Saint Philip* was Francis de Toledo, brother unto the Count de Orgas, being Colonel over two-and-thirty bands; besides other gentlemen: who seeing their mast broken with shot, they shaped their course, as well as they could, for the coast of Flanders: whither when they could not attain, the principal men in the ship committing themselves to their skiff, arrived at the next town, which was Ostend; and the ship itself being left behind with the residue of their company, was taken by the Flushingers.

In the other galleon, called the *Saint Matthew*, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli another camp-master and Colonel of thirty-two bands, being brother unto the Marquis of Tamnares, with many other gentlemen and captains. Their ship was not very great, but exceeding strong, for of a great number of bullets which had battered her, there were scarce twenty wherewith she was pierced or hurt: her upper work was of force sufficient to bear off a musket-shot: this ship was shot through and pierced in the fight before Gravelines; insomuch that the leakage of the water could not be stopped: whereupon the Duke of Medina sent his great skiff unto the governor thereof, that he might save himself and the principal persons that were in his ship: which he, upon a halt courage, refused to do: wherefore the Duke charged him to sail next unto himself: which the night following he could not perform, by reason of the great abundance of water which entered his ship on all sides; for the avoiding whereof, and to save his ship from sinking, he caused fifty men continually to labour at the pump, though it were to small purpose. And see-

ing himself thus forsaken and separated from his Admiral, he endeavoured what he could to attain unto the coast of Flanders : where, being espied by four or five men-of-war, which had their station assigned them upon the same coast, he was admonished to yield himself unto them. Which he, refusing to do, was strongly assaulted by them altogether, and his ship being pierced by many bullets, was brought into far worse case than before, and forty of his soldiers were slain. By which extremity he was forced at length to yield himself unto Peter Banderduess and other captains, which brought him and his ship into Zeeland ; and that other ship also last before mentioned : which both of them, immediately after the greater and better part of their goods were unladen, sank right down.

For the memory of this exploit, the foresaid Captain Banderduess caused the banner of one of these ships to be set up in the great church of Leyden in Holland, which is of so great a length, that being fastened to the very roof, it reached down to the ground.

About the same time another small ship being by necessity driven upon the coast of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was cast away upon the sands, the people therein being saved. Thus Almighty God would have the Spaniards' huge ships to be presented not only to the view of the English, but also to the Zeelanders ; that at the sight of them they might acknowledge of what small ability they had been to resist such impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, providence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with His own arm.

The 29th of July the Spanish fleet being encountered by the English (as is aforesaid) and lying close together under their fighting sails, with a south-west wind sailed past Dunkirk, the English ships still following the chase,

Of whom the day following when the Spaniards had got sea room, they cut their main sails ; whereby they sufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight but to fly. For which cause the Lord Admiral of England dispatched the Lord Henry Seymour with his squadron of small ships unto the coast of Flanders, where, with the help of the Dutch ships, he might stop the Prince of Parma his passage if perhaps he should attempt to issue forth with his army. And he himself in the mean space pursued the Spanish fleet until the second of August, because he thought they had set sail for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very near, yet did he not assault them any more, for want of powder and bullets.

But upon the fourth of August, the wind arising, when as the Spaniards had spread all their sails, betaking themselves wholly to flight, and leaving Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway (whereby they sufficiently declared that their whole intent was to save themselves by flight, attempting for that purpose, with their battered and crazed ships, the most dangerous navigation of the Northern seas), the English seeing that they were now proceeded unto the latitude of 57 degrees, and being unwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themselves, and because they wanted things necessary, and especially powder and shot, returned back for England ; leaving behind them certain pinnaces only, which they enjoined to follow the Spaniards aloof, and to observe their course. And so it came to pass that the 4th of August, with great danger and industry, the English arrived at Harwich : for they had been tossed up and down with a mighty tempest for the space of two or three days together, which it is likely did great hurt unto the Spanish fleet, being (as I said before) so maimed and battered. The English now going on shore, provided themselves forthwith of victuals, gun-

powder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all assays to entertain the Spanish fleet, if it chanced any more to return. But being afterward more certainly informed of the Spaniards' course, they thought it best to leave them unto those boisterous and uncouth Northern seas, and not there to hunt after them.

The Spaniards seeing now that they wanted four or five thousand of their people, and having divers maimed and sick persons, and likewise having lost ten or twelve of their principal ships, they consulted among themselves what they were best to do, being now escaped out of the hands of the English, because their victuals failed them in like sort, and they began also to want cables, cordage, anchors, masts, sails, and other naval furniture and utterly despaired of the Duke of Parma his assistance (who verily hoping and undoubtedly expecting the return of the Spanish fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of anchors to be made, and other necessary furniture for a navy to be provided) they thought it good at length, so soon as the wind should serve them, to fetch a compass about Scotland and Ireland, and so to return for Spain.

For they well understood, that commandment was given throughout all Scotland, that they should not have any succour or assistance there. Neither yet could they in Norway supply their wants. Wherefore, having taken certain Scottish and other fisher boats, they brought the men on board their own ships, to the end they might be their guides and pilots. Fearing also lest their fresh water should fail them, they cast all their horses and mules overboard: and so touching nowhere upon the coast of Scotland, but being carried with a fresh gale between the Orcades (Orkneys) and Faar-Isles (Faroe) they proceeded far north, even unto 61 degrees of latitude, being distant from any land at the least 40 leagues.

Here the Duke of Medina, General of the fleet, commanded all his followers to shape their course for Biscay : and he himself with twenty or five-and-twenty of his ships which were best provided of fresh water and other necessaries, holding on his course over the main ocean, returned safely home.

The residue of his ships being about forty in number, and committed unto his Vice-Admiral, fell nearer with the coast of Ireland, intending their course for Cape Clare (Clear), because they hoped there to get fresh water, and to refresh themselves on land. But after they were driven with many contrary winds, at length, upon the second of September, they were cast by a tempest arising from the south-west upon divers parts of Ireland, where many of their ships perished. And amongst others the ship of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great galliasses : and two great ships of Venice also, namely, *La Ratta* and *Belanzara*, and other thirty-six or thirty-eight ships more, which perished in sundry tempests, together with most of the persons contained in them.

Likewise some of the Spanish ships were the second time carried with a strong west wind into the channel of England, whereof some were taken by the English upon their coast, and others by the men of Rochelle upon the coast of France.

Moreover, there arrived at Newhaven in Normandy, being by tempest inforced so to do, one of the four great galliasses, where they found the ships with the Spanish women which followed the fleet at their setting forth. Two ships also were cast away upon the coast of Norway, one of them being of a great burden ; howbeit all the persons in the said great ship were saved : insomuch that of 134 ships, which set sail out of Portugal, there returned home fifty-three only, small and great : namely of the

four galliasses but one, and but one of the four galleys. Of the ninety-one great galleons and hulks there were missing fifty-eight, and thirty-three returned : of the pataches and zabraes seventeen were missing, and eighteen returned home. In brief there were missing eighty-one ships, in which number were galliasses, galleys, galleons, and other vessels both great and small. And amongst the fifty-three ships remaining, those also are reckoned which returned home before they came into the English Channel. Two galleons of those which were returned were by misfortune burnt as they rode into the haven ; and such like mishaps did many others undergo. Of 30,000 persons which went in this expedition, there perished (according to the number and proportion of the ships) the greater and better part : and many of them which came home, by reason of the toils and inconveniences which they sustained in this voyage, died not long after their arrival. The Duke of Medina immediately upon his return was deposed from his authority, commanded to his private house, and forbidden to repair unto the Court ; where he could hardly satisfy or yield a reason unto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honourable personages and men of great renown deceased soon after their return ; as namely John Martines de Ricalde, with divers others. A great part also of the Spanish nobility and gentry employed in this expedition perished either by fight, diseases, or drowning, before their arrival ; and among the rest Thomas Perenot of Granduell, a Dutchman, being Earl of Cantebroi, and son unto Cardinal Granduell's brother.

To conclude, there was no famous nor worthy family in all Spain which in this expedition lost not a son, a brother, or a kinsman.

For the perpetual memory of this matter, the Zee-

landers caused new coin of silver and brass to be stamped : which on the one side contained the arms of Zeeland, with this inscription : GLORY TO GOD ONLY : and on the other side, the pictures of certain great ships, with these words : THE SPANISH FLEET : and in the circumference about the ships : IT CAME, WENT, AND WAS. Anno 1588. That is to say, the Spanish fleet came, went, and was vanquished this year ; for which, glory be given to God only.

Likewise they coined another kind of money ; upon the one side whereof was represented a ship fleeing, and a ship sinking : on the other side four men making prayers and giving thanks unto God upon their knees ; with this sentence : Man proposeth ; God disposeth. 1588. Also, for the lasting memory of the same matter, they have stamped in Holland divers such like coins, according to the custom of the ancient Romans.

While this wonderful and puissant navy was sailing along the English coasts, and all men did now plainly see and hear that which before they would not be persuaded of, all people throughout England prostrated themselves with humble prayers and supplications unto God : but especially the outlandish churches (who had greatest cause to fear, and against whom by name the Spaniards had threatened most grievous torments) enjoined to their people continual fastings and supplications, that they might turn away God's wrath and fury now imminent upon them for their sins : knowing right well, that prayer was the only refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and that it was the only solace and relief for mankind, being visited with affliction and misery. Likewise such solemn days of supplication were observed throughout the United Provinces.

Also a while after the Spanish fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandment of her Majesty,

and in the United Provinces, by the direction of the States, a solemn festival day publicly appointed, wherein all persons were enjoined to resort unto the church, and there to render thanks and praise unto God : and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresaid solemnity was observed upon the 29th of November ; which day was wholly spent in fasting, prayer, and giving of thanks.

Likewise, the Queen's Majesty herself, imitating the ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard of her own and her subjects' glorious deliverance. For being attended upon very solemnly by all the principal estates and officers of her realm, she was carried through her said city of London in a triumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace unto the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, out of which the ensigns and colours of the vanquished Spaniards hung displayed. And all the citizens of London in their Liveries stood on either side the street, by their several companies, with their ensigns and banners : and the streets were hanged on both sides with blue cloth, which, together with the foresaid banners, yielded a very stately and gallant prospect. Her Majesty being entered into the Church, together with her clergy and nobles, gave thanks unto God, and caused a public sermon to be preached before her at Paul's Cross ; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour and glory might be rendered unto God, and that God's name might be extolled by thanksgiving. And with her own princely voice she most Christianly exhorted the people to do the same : whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes.

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themselves termed in all places invinc-

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ible) such as sailed not upon the ocean sea many hundred years before, in the year 1588 vanished into smoke ; to the great confusion and discouragement of the authors thereof.

From " Hakluyt's Voyages," 1598

THE LAST FIGHT OF THE *REVENGE*

1591

THE Lord Thomas Howard with six of her Majesty's ships, six victuallers of London, the barque *Raleigh*, and two or three other pinnaces riding at anchor near unto Flores, one of the Westerly Islands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoon, had intelligence by one Captain Middleton of the approach of a Spanish Armada. Which Middleton being in a very good sailer had kept them company three days before, of good purpose, both to discover their forces the more, as also to give advice to my Lord Thomas of their approach. He had no sooner delivered the news but the fleet was in sight: many of our ships' companies were on shore in the island; some providing ballast for their ships; others filling of water and refreshing themselves from the land with such things as they could either for money or by force recover. By reason whereof our ships were all pestered and everything out of order, very light for want of ballast, and that which was most to our disadvantage, the one half part of the men of every ship sick, and utterly unserviceable. In the *Revenge* there were ninety diseased; in the *Bonaventure*, not so many in health as could handle her main sail. For had not twenty men been taken out of a barque of Sir George Carey's, his being commanded to be sunk, and those appointed to her, she had hardly ever recovered

England. The rest, for the most part, were in little better state.

The Spanish fleet having shrouded their approach by reason of the island ; were now so soon at hand, as our ships had scarce time to weigh their anchors, but some of them were driven to let slip their cables and set sail. Sir Richard Grenville was the last that weighed, to recover the men that were upon the island, which otherwise had been lost. The Lord Thomas with the rest very hardly recovered the wind, which Sir Richard Grenville not being able to do, was persuaded by the master and others to cut his main sail, and cast about, and to trust to the sailing of the ship ; for the squadron of Seville were on his weather bow. But Sir Richard utterly refused to turn from the enemy, alleging that he would rather choose to die than to dishonour himself, his country and her Majesty's ship, persuading his company that he would pass through the two squadrons, in despite of them, and enforce those of Seville to give him way. Which he performed upon divers of the foremost, who, as the mariners term it, sprang their luff, and fell under the lee of the *Revenge*. But the other course had been the better, and might right well have been answered in so great an impossibility of prevailing. Notwithstanding out of the greatness of his mind, he could not be persuaded. In the meanwhile as he attended those which were nearest him, the great *San Philip* being in the wind of him, and coming toward him, becalmed his sails in such sort, as the ship could neither make way, nor feel the helm : so huge and high-carged¹ was the Spanish ship, being of a thousand and five hundred tons. This ship after laid the *Revenge* aboard.² When he was thus bereft of his sails, the ships

¹ High-carged : burdened with lofty upper works.

² Came alongside the *Revenge*.

that were under his lee luffing up, also laid him aboard : of which the next was the *Admiral of the Biscaines*, a very mighty and puissant ship commanded by Britton-dona. The said *Philip* carried three tier of ordnance on a side, and eleven pieces in every tier. She shot eight forthright out of her chase,¹ besides those of her stern ports.

After the *Revenge* was entangled with this *Philip*, four others boarded her ; two on her larboard, and two on her starboard. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoon, continued very terrible all that evening. But the great *San Philip* having received the lower tier of the *Revenge*, discharged with cross-bar shot, shifted herself with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking her first entertainment. Some say that the ship foundered, but we cannot report it for truth, unless we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companies of soldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners ; in some five, in others eight hundred. In ours there were none at all beside the mariners, but the servants of the commanders and some few voluntary gentlemen only.

After many interchanged volleys of great ordnance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the *Revenge*, and made divers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed soldiers and musketeers, but were still repulsed again and again, and at all times beaten back into their own ships, or into the seas. In the beginning of the fight, the *George Noble* of London, having received some shot through her by the Armadas, fell under the lee of the *Revenge*, and asked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victuallers and of small force : Sir Richard bid him save himself, and leave him to his fortune.

¹ Chase : cabins above the bow-portholes,

After the fight had thus, without intermission, continued while the day lasted and some hours of the night, many of our men were slain and hurt, and one of the great galleons of the Armada, and the Admiral of the hulks both sunk, and in many other of the Spanish ships great slaughter was made. Some wrote that Sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechless for a time ere he recovered. But two of the *Revenge's* own company, brought home in a ship of lime from the islands, examined by some of the Lords, and others, affirmed that he was never so wounded as that he forsook the upper deck, till an hour before midnight; and then, being shot into the body with a musket as he was a-dressing, was again shot into the head, and withal his surgeon wounded to death. This agreeth also with an examination taken by Sir Francis Godolphin, of four other mariners of the same ship being returned, which examination, the said Sir Francis sent unto Master William Killegrue, of Her Majesty's Privy Chamber.

But to return to the fight, the Spanish ships which attempted to board the *Revenge*, as they were wounded and beaten off, so always others came in their places, she having never less than two mighty galleons by her sides and aboard her: so that ere the morning, from three of the clock the day before, there had fifteen several Armadas assailed her; and all so ill approved their entertainment, as they were, by the break of day, far more willing to harken to a composition,¹ than hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day increased, so our men decreased; and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grew our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, saving one

¹ Composition: compromise.

small ship called the *Pilgrim*, commanded by Jacob Whiddon, who hovered all night to see the success ; but in the morning bearing with the *Revenge*, was hunted like a hare amongst many ravenous hounds, but escaped.

All the powder of the *Revenge* to the last barrel was now spent, all her pikes broken, forty of her best men slain, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundred free from sickness, and fourscore and ten sick, laid in hold upon the ballast—a small troop to man such a ship, and a weak garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred all was sustained, the volleys, boardings and enterings of fifteen ships of war, besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary, the Spanish were always supplied with soldiers brought from every squadron : all manner of arms and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons ; the masts all beaten overboard, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper work altogether razed, and in effect evened she was with the water, but the very foundation of a ship, nothing being left overhead either for flight or defence.

Sir Richard, finding himself in this distress, and unable any longer to make resistance, having endured in this fifteen hours' fight the assault of fifteen several Armadas, all by turns aboard him, and by estimation eight hundred shot of great artillery, besides many assaults and entries ; and seeing that himself and the ship must needs be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him, commanded the master-gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship ; that thereby nothing might remain of glory or victory to the Spaniards : seeing in so many hours' fight, and with so great a navy they were not able to take her, having had fifteen hours' time,

above ten thousand men, and fifty-and-three sail of men-of-war to perform it withal, and persuaded the company, or as many as he could induce, to yield themselves unto God, and to the mercy of none else. He said, moreover, that as they had, like valiant, resolute men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not now shorten the honour of their nation, by prolonging their own lives for a few hours, or a few days.

The master-gunner readily condescended and divers others ; but the Captain and the Master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to have care of them, alleging that the Spaniard would be as ready to entertain a composition as they were willing to offer the same : and that there being divers sufficient and valiant men yet living, and whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their country and prince acceptable service hereafter. And whereas Sir Richard had alleged that the Spaniards should never glory to have taken one ship of her Majesty, seeing they had so long and so notably defended themselves ; they answered, that the ship had six foot water in hold, three shot under water, which were so weakly stopped, as with the first working of the sea, she must needs sink, and was besides so crushed and bruised, as she could never be removed out of the place.

And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to harken to any of those reasons : the Master of the *Revenge* (while the captain won unto him the greater party) was convoyed aboard the General Don Alonso Baçan. Who (finding none over hasty to enter the *Revenge* again, doubting lest Sir Richard would have blown them up and himself, and perceiving by the report of the Master of the *Revenge* his dangerous disposition) yielded that all their lives should be saved, the company sent for England, and the better sort to

pay such reasonable ransom as their estate would bear, and in the mean season to be free from galley or imprisonment. To this he so much the rather condescended as well, as I have said, for fear of further loss and mischief to themselves, as also for the desire he had to recover Sir Richard Grenville; whom for his notable valour he seemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this answer was returned, and that safety of life was promised, the common sort being now at the end of their peril, the most drew back from Sir Richard and the master-gunner, it being no hard matter to dissuade men from death to life. The master-gunner finding himself and Sir Richard thus prevented and mastered by the greater number, would have slain himself with a sword, had he not been by force withheld and locked into his cabin. Then the General sent many boats aboard the *Revenge*, and divers of our men fearing Sir Richard's disposition, stole away aboard the General and other ships.

Sir Richard thus overmatched, was sent unto by Alonso Baçan, to remove out of the *Revenge*, the ship being marvellous unsavoury, filled with bodies of dead, and wounded men like a slaughter-house. Sir Richard answered that he might do with his body what he list, for he esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the ship he swooned, and reviving again, desired the company to pray for him. The General used Sir Richard with all humanity, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his recovery, highly commending his valour and worthiness, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was, being unto him a rare spectacle, and a resolution seldom approved, to see one ship turn toward so many enemies, to endure the charge and boarding of so many huge Armadas, and to resist and repel the assaults and entries of so many soldiers. All which and

more is confirmed by a Spanish captain of the same Armada, and a present actor in the fight, who, being severed from the rest in a storm, was by the *Lion* of London, a small ship taken, and is now prisoner in London.

Sir Richard was carried into the ship called *S. Paul*, where his wounds were dressed by the Spanish surgeons. All the captains and gentlemen went to visit him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune, wondering at his courage and stout heart, for that he showed not any sign of faintness nor changing of colour; but feeling the hour of death to approach, he spake these words in Spanish, and said: "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, that hath fought for his country, Queen, religion and honour, whereby my soul most joyful departeth out of this body, and shall always leave behind it an everlasting fame of a valiant and true soldier, that hath done his duty as he was bound to do."

When he had finished these words, he gave up the ghost, with great and stout courage, and no man could perceive any true sigh of heaviness in him.

From "*Hakluyt's Voyages*," 1598

RALEIGH ON THE ORINOCO

1595

AFTER we departed from the port of these Ciawani we passed up the river with the flood, and anchored the ebb, and in this sort we went onward. The third day that we entered the river our galley came on ground, and stuck so fast that we thought that even there our discovery had ended, and that we must have left fourscore and ten of our men to have inhabited like rooks upon trees with those nations: but the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and hauling to and fro, we got her afloat, and went on. At four days' end we fell into as goodly a river as ever I beheld, which was called the great Amana, which ran more directly without windings and turnings than the other. But soon after the flood of the sea left us, and being enforced either by main strength to row against a violent current, or to return as wise as we went out, we had then no shift but to persuade the companies that it was but two or three days' work, and therefore desired them to take pains, every gentleman and others taking their turns to row, and to spell one the other at the oar's end.

Every day we passed by goodly branches of rivers, some falling from the west, others from the east, into Amana, but those I leave to the description in the chart of discovery, where every one shall be named, with his rising and descent. When three days more were over-

gone our companies began to despair, the weather being extremely hot, the river bordered with very high trees that kept away the air, and the current against us every day stronger than other. But we evermore commanded our pilots to promise an end the next day, and used it so long that we were driven to assure them from four reaches of the river to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach. But so long we laboured that many days were spent, and we driven to draw ourselves to harder allowance, our bread even at the last, and no drink at all; and our men and ourselves so wearied and scorched, and doubtful withal whether we should ever perform it or no, the heat increasing as we drew towards the line: for we were now in five degrees.

The farther we went on (our victual decreasing and the air breeding great faintness) we grew weaker and weaker when we had most need of strength and ability, for hourly the river ran more violently than other against us, and the barge, wherries, and ship's boat of Captain Gifford and Captain Calfield had spent all their provisions, so that we were brought into despair and discomfort, had we not persuaded all the company that it was but only one day's work more to attain the land where we should be relieved of all we wanted, and if we returned that we were sure to starve by the way, and that the world would also laugh us to scorn.

On the banks of these rivers were divers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of that variety as were sufficient to make ten volumes of herbals. We relieved ourselves many times with the fruits of the country, and sometimes with fowl and fish. We saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange tawny, purple, watchet, and of all other sorts both simple and mixed, and it was unto us a great good passing of the time to behold them, besides the relief we found by killing

some store of them with our fowling pieces; without which, having little or no bread and less drink, but only the thick and troubled water of the river, we had been in a very hard case.

Our old pilot of the Ciawani told us that if we would enter a branch of a river on the right hand with our barge and wherries, and leave the galley at anchor the while in the great river, he would bring us to a town of the Arwacas where we should find store of bread, hens, fish, and of the country wine, and persuaded us that departing from the galley at noon, we might return ere night. I was very glad to hear this speech, and presently took my barge, with eight musketeers, Captain Gifford's wherry with himself and four musketeers, and Captain Calfield with his wherry and as many, and so we entered the mouth of this river; and because we were persuaded that it was so near, we took no victual with us at all. When we had rowed three hours we marvelled we saw no sign of any dwelling, and asked the pilot where the town was; he told us a little farther. After three hours more, the sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led us that way to betray us, for he confessed that those Spaniards which fled from Trinidad, and also those that remained with Carapana in Emeria, were joined together in some village upon that river. But when it grew toward night, and we demanding where the place was, he told us but four reaches more. When we had rowed four and four, we saw no sign, and our poor watermen, even heart-broken and tired, were ready to give up the ghost; for we had now come from the galley near forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the pilot, and if we had well known the way back again by night, he had surely gone, but our own necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety; for it was as dark as pitch, and the river

began so to narrow itself, and the trees to hang over from side to side, that we were driven with arming swords to cut a passage through those branches that covered the water. We were very desirous to find this town, hoping of a feast, because we made but a short breakfast aboard the galley in the morning, and it was now eight o'clock at night and our stomachs began to gnaw apace; but whether it was best to return or go on, we began to doubt, suspecting treason in the pilot more and more. But the poor old Indian ever assured us that it was but a little farther, and but this one turning, and that turning, and at last about one o'clock after midnight we saw a light, and rowing toward it, we heard the dogs of the village.

When we landed we found few people, for the lord of that place was gone with divers canoes above 400 miles off, upon a journey towards the head of Orinoque to trade for gold, who afterwards unfortunately passed by us as we rode at an anchor in the port of Morequito in the dark of the night, and yet came so near us, as his canoes grated against our barge. He left one of his company at the port of Morequito, by whom we understood that he had brought thirty young women, divers plates of gold, and had great store of fine pieces of cotton cloth and cotton beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hens, and Indian drink, and so rested that night; and in the morning, after we had traded with such of his people as came down, we returned toward our galley, and brought with us some quantity of bread, fish, and hens.

On both sides of this river we passed the most beautiful country that ever mine eyes beheld; and whereas all that we had seen before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thorns, here we beheld plains of twenty miles on length, the grass short and green, and in divers

parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour of the world so made of purpose ; and still as we rowed, the deer came down feeding by the water's side, as if they had been used to a keeper's call. Upon this river there were great store of fowl, and of many sorts : we saw in it divers sorts of strange fishes, and of marvellous bigness ; but for lagartos it exceeded, for there were thousands of those ugly serpents, and the people call it, for the abundance of them, the River of Lagartos in their language. I had a negro, a very proper young fellow, who leaping out of the galley to swim in the mouth of this river, was in all our sights taken and devoured by one of those lagartos.

In the meanwhile our companies in the galley thought we had been all lost (for we promised to return before night), and sent the *Lion's Whelp's* ship's boat with Captain Whiddon to follow us up the river ; but the next day after we had rowed up and down some four-score miles we returned, and went on our way up the great river ; and when we were even at the last cast for want of victuals, Captain Gifford being before the galley and the rest of the boats, seeking out some place to land upon the banks to make fire, espied four canoes coming down the river, and with no small joy caused his men to try the uttermost of their strength, and after a while two of the four gave over, and ran themselves ashore, every man betaking himself to the fastness of the woods ; the two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay hold on these, and so turned into some by-creek, we knew not whither. Those canoes that were taken were laden with bread, and were bound for Margarita in the West Indies, which those Indians (called Arwacas) purposed to carry thither for exchange. But in the lesser there were three Spaniards, who having heard of the defeat of their governor in Trinidad, and

that we purposed to enter Guiana, came away in those canoes : one of them was a cavallero, as the captain of the Arwacas after told us, another a soldier, and the third a refiner.

In the meantime, nothing on earth could have been more welcome to us next unto gold than the great store of very excellent bread which we found in those canoes, for now our men cried, " Let us go on, we care not how far." After that Captain Gifford had brought the two canoes to the galley, I took my barge and went to the bank's side with a dozen shot, where the canoes first ran themselves ashore, and landed there, sending out Captain Gifford and Captain Thyn on one hand, and Captain Calfield on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods, and as I was creeping through the bushes, I saw an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiner's basket, for I found in it his quicksilver, saltpetre, and divers things for the trial of metals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined ; but in those canoes which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold.

I then landed more men, and offered £500 to what soldier soever could take one of those three Spaniards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vain in that behalf, for they put themselves into one of the small canoes, and so while the greater canoes were in taking they escaped. But seeking after the Spaniards, we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spaniards, and rowed their canoes ; of which I kept the chiefest for a pilot, and carried him with me to Guiana, by whom I understood where and in what countries the Spaniards had laboured for gold, though I made not the same known to all. For when the springs began to break, and the rivers to raise themselves so suddenly, that by no means we could abide the digging of any mine, especially for that the richest

are defended with rocks of hard stone, which we call the white spar, and that it required time, men, and instruments fit for such a work, I thought it best not to hover thereabouts, lest if the same had been perceived by the company, there would have been by this time many barks and ships set out, and perchance other nations would also have gotten of ours for pilots; so that both ourselves might have been prevented, and all our care taken for good usage of the people been utterly lost by those that only respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered that the nations which are borderers would have changed their desire of our love and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to have brought a more quantity whosoever had seen or proved the fury of that river after it began to rise, and had been a month and odd days as we were from hearing aught of our ships, leaving them meanly manned above 400 miles off, would perchance have turned somewhat sooner than we did, if all the mountains had been gold or rich stones. And to say the truth, all the branches and small rivers which fell into Orinoco were raised with such speed, that if we waded them over the shoes in the morning outward, we were covered to the shoulders homeward the very same day. Such a quantity as would have served our turns we could not have had, but a discovery of the mines to our infinite disadvantage we had made, and that could have been the best profit of further search or stay; for those mines are not easily broken, nor opened in haste, and I could have returned a good quantity of gold ready cast, if I had not shot at another mark than present profit.

This Arwacan pilot, with the rest, feared that we would have eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruel death, for the Spaniards, to the end that

none of the people in the passage towards Guiana or in Guiana itself might come to speech with us, persuaded all the nations that we were men-eaters and cannibals. But when the poor men and women had seen us, and that we gave them meat, and to every one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceive the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards.

Nothing got us more love among them than this usage, for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a pine, or a potato root, without giving them contentment, which of course, so contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannize over them in all things), drew them to admire her Majesty, whose commandment I told them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation. But I confess it was a very impatient work to keep the meaner sort from spoil and stealing, when we came to their houses, which because in all I could not prevent I caused my Indian interpreter at every place when we departed to know of the loss or wrong done, and if aught were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the party punished in their sight, or else was paid for to their uttermost demand. They also much wondered at us, after they heard that we had slain the Spaniards at Trinidad, for they were before resolved that no nation of Christians durst abide their presence, and they wondered more when I made them know of the great overthrow that her Majesty's army and fleet had given them of late years in their own countries.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

THE DEATH OF JOHN DAVIS

1605

John Davis was the famous navigator, born about 1550, who first devoted his attention to the search for a North-West Passage. He discovered Davis Strait and explored Baffin's Bay in 1587. He published works, entitled *Seaman's Secrets*, 1594, and *The World's Hydrographical Description*, 1595. Later he turned eastwards, as pilot of a Dutch vessel bound for the East Indies.

HERE as I stood for Patane, about the 27th of December, I met with a junk of the Japons, which had been pirating along the coast of China and Cambodia. Their pilot being dead, with ignorance and foul weather they had cast away their ship on the shoals of the great island Borneo; and to enter into the country of Borneo, they durst not: for the Japons are not suffered to land in any port in India with weapons, being accounted a people so desperate and daring, that they are feared in all places where they come. These people, their ship being spitted, with their shallops entered this junk (wherein I met them), which was of Patane, and killed all the people save one old pilot. This junk was laden with rice, which when they had possessed and furnished with such furniture, necessaries and arms as they saved out of their sunken ship, they shaped their course for Japan: but the badness of their junk, contrary winds, and unseasonableness of the year forced them to leeward, which was the cause of mine unlucky meeting them.

After I had hailed them, and made them come to

leeward, sending my boat aboard them, I found them by their men and furniture very unproportionable for such a ship as they were in ; which was a junk not above seventy tons in burden, and they were ninety men, and most of them in too gallant a habit for sailors, and such an equality of behaviour among them, that they seemed all fellows : yet one among them there was that they called Captain, but gave him little respect. I caused them to come to an anchor, and upon further examination I found their lading to be only rice ; and for the most part spilt with wet : for their ship was leak both under and above water. Upon questioning with them, I understood them to be men of war, that had pillaged on the coast of China and Cambodia, and, as I said before, had cast away their ship on the shoals of Borneo. Here we rode at anchor under a small island, near to the isle of Bintam, two days entertaining them with good usage, not taking anything from them : thinking to have gathered from their knowledge the place and passage of certain ships, on the coast of China to have made my voyage.

But these rogues being desperate in winds and fortunes, being hopeless in that paltry junk ever to return to their country, resolved with themselves either to gain my ship, or to lose their lives. And upon mutual courtesies with gifts and feastings between us, sometimes five-and-twenty or six-and-twenty of their chiefest came aboard : whereof I would not suffer above six to have weapons. There was never the like number of our men aboard their junk. I willed Captain John Davis in the morning to possess himself of their weapons, and to put the company before mast and to leave some guard on their weapons, while they searched in the rice, doubting that by searching and finding that which would dislike them, they might suddenly set upon my

men, and put them to the sword : as the sequel proved.

Captain Davis being beguiled with their humble semblance, would not possess himself of their weapons, though I sent twice of purpose from my ship to will him to do it. They passed all the day, my men searching in the rice and they looking on : at the sun-setting after long search and nothing found, save a little storax and benjamin : they seeing opportunity, and talking to the rest of their company which were in my ship, being near to their junk, they resolved at a watchword between them, to set upon us resolutely in both ships.

This being concluded, they suddenly killed and drave overboard all my men that were in their ship, and those which were aboard my ship sallied out of my cabin, where they were put, with such weapons as they had, finding certain targets in my cabin, and other things that they used as weapons. Myself being aloft on the deck, knowing what was likely to follow, leapt into the waist, where, with the boatswains, carpenter and some few more, we kept them under the half-deck. At their first coming forth of the cabin, they met Captain Davis coming out of the gun-room, whom they pulled into the cabin, and giving him six or seven mortal wounds, they thrust him out of the cabin before them. His wounds were so mortal that he died as soon as he came into the waist. They pressed so fiercely to come to us, as we receiving them on our pikes they would gather on our pikes with their hands to reach us with their swords.

It was near half an hour before we could stone them back into the cabin : in which time we had killed three or four of their leaders. After they were driven into the cabin, they fought with us at the least four hours before we could suppress them, often frying the cabin, burning the bedding, and much other stuff that was there. And had we not with two demi-culverins from

under the half-deck beaten down the bulk-head and the pump of the ship, we could not have suppressed them from burning the ship. This ordnance being charged with cross-bars, bullets, and case-shot, and bent close to the bulk-head, so violently marred therewith boards and splinters, that it left but one of them standing of two-and-twenty. Their legs, arms, and bodies were so torn, as it was strange to see, how the shot had massacred them. In all this conflict they never would desire their lives, though they were hopeless to escape : such was the desperateness of these Japonians. Only one leapt over-board, which afterward swam to our ship again, and asked for grace ; we took him in, and asked him what was their purpose. He told us, that they meant to take our ship, and to cut all our throats. He would say no more, but desired that he might be cut in pieces.

The next day, to wit, the 28th of December, we went to a little island to the leeward of us. And when we were about five miles from the land, the General commanded his people to hang this Japonian : but he brake the rope and fell into the sea. I cannot tell whether he swam to the land or not.

From " Purchas His Pilgrimes," 1625

A LETTER FROM WILL ADAMS IN JAPAN

1611

This letter is peculiarly interesting to English people, as allies of Japan : for it was from Will Adams that the Japanese first learnt the art of building vessels after European plans, vessels large and strong enough to face the rough journey over the Pacific Ocean. Adams engaged in trading voyages in Japanese and Chinese waters as far as Siam, but was never allowed to return home. He died in 1620, and was buried on the hill above Yokohama.

HAVING so good occasion, by hearing that certain English merchants lie in the Island of Java, although by name unknown, I presumed to write these few lines, desiring the Worshipful Company being unknown to me, to pardon my boldness. The reason that I write, is first, for that conscience bindeth me to love my country, and my countrymen. Your Worships therefore shall understand, to whom these presents shall come, that I am a Kentish-man, born in a town called Gillingham, two English miles from Rochester, one mile from Chatham, where the King's ships lie : and that from the age of twelve years, I was brought up in Limehouse near London, being prentice twelve years to one Master Nicholas Diggins, and have served in the place of Master and Pilot in her Majesty's ships, and about eleven or twelve years served the Worshipful Company of the Barbary Merchants, until the Indian traffic from Holland began, in which Indian traffic I was desirous to make a little

experience of the small knowledge which God had given me.

So, in the year of our Lord God, 1598, I was hired for chief pilot of a fleet of five sail, which was made ready by the chief of the Indian Company, Peter Vanderhag, and Hance Vanderueke : the General of this Fleet was a merchant called Jaques Maghay, in whose ship, being Admiral, I was pilot. So, it being the 23rd or 24th of June before we set sail, it was somewhat too late ere we came to the line, to pass it without contrary winds : for it was about the midst of September, at which time we found much southerly winds, and many of our men were sick, so that we were forced to go to the coast of Guinea to Cape de Lopo Gonsalves, where we set our sick men aland, whereof many died : and of the sickness few bettered, having little or no refreshing, and the place being unhealthy.

Therefore, to fulfil our voyage, we set our course for the coast of Brazil, determining to pass the Straits of Magellan, and by the way came to an island called Ilha de Nobon, at which island we landed, and took the town, which contained about eighty houses, in which island we refreshed ourselves, having oxen, oranges, and divers other fruits. But the unwholesomeness of the air was such, that as one bettered, another fell sick : we spent upon the coast of the Cape Gonsalves and of Annobon about two months' time till the 12th or 13th of November. At which time we set sail from Annobon, finding the winds still at the south by east, and south south-east, till we got four degrees by south the line : at which time the winds favoured us, coming to the south-east, and east south-east, and east, so that we were up between the Island of Annobon and the Straits of Magellan, about five months. One of our five sail spent her mainmast, by which we were much hindered ;

for with much travail we set a new mast in the sea.

Then, the 29th of March, we saw the land in the latitude of fifty degrees, having the wind two or three days contrary : so, in the end, having the winds good, we came into the Straits of Magellan, the sixth of April, 1599, at which time the winter came, so that there was much snow : and our men, through cold on the one side, and hunger on the other, grew weak. We had the wind at north-east some five or six days, in which time we might have passed through the Straits. But, for refreshing of our men, we waited, watering and taking in of wood and setting up a pinnacle of fifteen or sixteen tons in bigness.

At length, we would have passed through but could not by reason of the southerly winds, with wet, and also very cold, with abundance of snow and ice. Wherefore, we were forced to winter and stay in the straits from the sixth of April, until the 24th of September, in which time the most part of our provision was spent, in so much that for lack of victuals many of our men died through hunger. Now, having passed through the straits, and coming into the South Sea, we found many hard streams, being driven to the southwards in 54° , being then very cold. At length we found reasonable winds and weather, with which we followed our pretended voyage toward the coast of Peru : but in long travels we lost our whole fleet, being separated the one from the other. Yet before the dispersing of our fleet, we had appointed, if we lost one another with storms and foul weather, that in Chili in the latitude of 46° , we should stay one for another the space of thirty days. In which height, according to agreement, I went in 46° , and stayed eight-and-twenty days, where we refreshed ourselves, finding the people of the country good of nature : but by reason of the Spaniards, they

would not have dealt with us at the first. They brought us sheep and potatoes, for which we gave them bells and knives, whereof they were very glad : but in the end, the people went up from their houses into the country and came no more unto us.

We stayed there eight-and-twenty days, and set up a pinnacle which we had in our ship, in four parts, and in the end departed and came to the south of Baldivia, yet by reason it blew much wind we entered not, but directed our course out of the bay, for the island of Mucha, unto the which we came the next day, finding none of our fleet. So not finding them, we directed our course for the Island of Santa Maria, and the next day we came by the Cape, which is a league and a half from the island, and seeing many people tossed about the Cape, and finding good ground, anchored in fifteen fathom in a fair sandy bay.

We went with our boats hard by the water side, to parley with the people of the land, but they would not suffer us to come a-land, shooting great store of arrows at our men. Nevertheless, having no victuals in our ship, and hoping to find refreshing, we forcibly landed some seven-and-twenty or thirty of our men, and drove the wild people from the water side, having most of our men hurt with their arrows. They being on land, we made signs of friendship, and in the end came to parley with signs and tokens of friendship, which the people understood. So we made signs, that our desire was to have victuals for iron, silver and cloth, which we showed them. Wherefore they gave our folk wine, with batatas to eat, and other fruits, and bid our men by signs and tokens to go aboard, and the next day to come again, and then they would bring us victuals : so, being late, our men came aboard, the most part of them being hurt more or less, and yet we were very glad that

we had come to a parley with them, hoping that we should get refreshing.

The next day, being the ninth of November, 1599, our Captain, with all our officers, prepared to go a-land, having taken counsel to go to the water side but not to land more than two or three men : for there were people in abundance, and were also unknown ; our men therefore were willed not to trust them. This council being concluded, the Captain himself went in one of our boats, with all the force that we had : and being by the shore side, the people of the country made signs that they should come a-land ; but that did not like our Captain well.

In the end the people coming not near unto our boats, our Captain, with the rest, resolved to land against that which was concluded in our ship, before the going on land. At length three-and-twenty men landed with muskets, and marched up towards four or five houses, and when they were about a musket-shot from the boats, more than a thousand Indians who lay entrenched, immediately fell upon our men with such weapons as they had, and killed them all to our knowledge. So our boats waited long to see if any of them would come again ; but seeing no hope to recover them, our boats returned with this sorrowful news, that all our men that landed were slain, which was a lamentable thing to hear : for we had scarce so many men left as could wind up our anchor.

The next day we waited, and went over to the island Santa Maria, where we found our Admiral, who had arrived there four days before us, and departed to the Isle from Mucha the day before we came from thence, having the General, Master, and all his officers wounded on land : and God had so plagued us, that all our officers were slain, so that the one of us bemoaned the other.

Nevertheless being glad that we were come together, my good friend Timothy Shotten was pilot in that ship. Being at the Island of Santa Maria, which lieth in the latitude of $37^{\circ} 12'$ by south the line on the coast of Chili, we took counsel to take all things out of one ship, and to burn the other : but the new captains could not agree which of the ships they should burn, and so could not conclude it.

Having so much cloth in our ships, it was agreed that we should leave the coast of Peru, and direct our course for Japan, understanding that cloth was good merchandise there : and also upon the coast of Peru, the King's ships having knowledge of our being there, sought for us, understanding that we were weak by reason of the loss of our men, which was all too true : for one of our fleet, as we understood afterward, was forced to yield themselves into the enemy's hand in Saint Iago. For which reason, having refreshed ourselves in the Island Santa Maria, more by policy than by force, we departed the 27th of November, from the Road, or Island of Santa Maria, with our two ships, and for the rest of our fleet we heard no news of them.

So we took our course directly for Japan, and passed the line equinoctial together, until we came in 28° to the northward of the line : in which latitude, the 22nd and 23rd of February, 1600, we had a wonderful storm of wind as ever I was in, with much rain, in which storm we lost sight of our greatest ship, whereof we were very sorry, being left alone ; yet we hoped in Japan to find one another. Then according to wind and weather, we followed our former intention for Japan, and in the height of 30° , sought the North Cape for the forenamed Island, but found it not, by reason that it lieth false in all charts, and globes, and maps : for the Cape lieth in $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ which is a great difference. In the end we came in

32½° and then had sight of the land, being the 19th of April, so that between the Cape of Santa Maria and Japan, we were four months and twenty-two days : at which time there were no more than six besides myself, that could stand upon their feet.

Now being in safety, we let our anchor fall about a league from a place, called Bungo. At which time many boats came unto us, and we let them come aboard, being not able to resist them : yet the people did us no harm, we not understanding each other, but by signs and tokens. After two or three days' space, a Jesuit came unto us from a place called Langasacke,¹ to which place the Carrack of Macao is yearly wont to come, which with other Japoners, that were Christians, were our interpreters, which was ill for us, they being our mortal enemies. Nevertheless the King of Bungo, the place where we arrived, did us great friendship. For he gave us a house on shore for our sick men, having all refreshing that was needful. We had when we came to anchor in Bungo four-and-twenty men, sick and whole, of which number the next day three died, the rest for the most part recovered, saving three which lay long time sick, and in the end also died.

The Emperor hearing of us, sent presently five galleys or frigates unto us, to bring me to the Court, where his Majesty was, which was distant from Bungo about eighty English leagues. Now, when I came before him, he demanded of me, of what country we were ; so I answered him in all points : for there was nothing that he demanded not, both concerning war and peace between country and country ; the particulars whereof were too long to write. After this conference, I was commanded to prison, being well used, with one of our mariners that came with me to serve me.

¹ Langasacke : Nagasaki

Some two days after, the Emperor called me again, demanding the reason of our coming so far : I answered, we were a people that sought all friendship with all nations and to have trade of merchandise in all countries, bringing such merchandise in strange countries, as our country desired ; through which our countries on both sides were enriched. He asked much concerning the wars between the Spaniards and Portugals, and us, and the reasons : the particulars of all which I gave him to understand, who seemed to be very glad to hear it. After this, I was commanded to prison again, but my lodging was bettered in another place. So I continued nine and thirty days in prison, hearing no more news, neither of our ship, nor Captain, whether he were recovered of his sickness, nor of the rest of the company : in which time, I looked every day to be crossed, as the custom of justice is in Japan, as hanging is in our land.

Now in this long time of imprisonment, the Jesuits and the Portugals gave many evidences to the Emperor against us, alleging that we were thieves and robbers of all nations, and if we were suffered to live, it should be against the profit of his Majesty, and the land : for then no nation could come there without robbing : but if justice were executed on us, it would terrify the rest of our nation from coming there any more. And to this intent they sued to his Majesty daily to cut us off, making all the friends they could to this purpose. But God was merciful unto us, and would not suffer them to have their wills of us.

At length, the Emperor gave them this answer, that as yet we had done no hurt or damage to him, nor to any of his land ; and therefore that it was against reason and justice to put us to death : and if our countries and theirs had wars one with the other, that was no cause that he should put us to death. The Emperor

answering them in this manner, they were quite out of heart that their cruel pretence failed : for the which, God be praised for ever and ever.

Now in this time that I was in prison, the ship was commanded to be brought so near to the city where the Emperor was, as she might, which was done. So the one-and-fortieth day of my imprisonment, the Emperor called me before him again, demanding of me many questions more, which were too long to write. In conclusion, he asked me whether I was desirous to go to the ship to see my countrymen : I answered, that I would very gladly do it : so he bade me go. Then I departed, and was freed from imprisonment. And this was the first news that I had that the ship and company had come to the city. Wherefore, with a rejoicing heart I took a boat, and went to our ship, where I found the captain and the rest, recovered of their sickness. But at our meeting aboard, we saluted one another with mourning and shedding of tears : for they were informed that I was executed, and long since dead. Thus, God be praised, all we that were left alive, came together again.

All things were taken out of the ship, together with all my instruments, etc., and I had nothing left me, but my clothes on my back : likewise whatsoever the rest of the company had, was also taken away, unknown to the Emperor : which when he understood, he gave order that they should be restored to us again. But being so dispersed abroad, they could not be had : yet fifty thousand rials in ready money, were commanded to be given us, the Emperor himself seeing the delivery thereof to the hands of one that was made our Governor, who kept them in his hands to distribute them unto us as we had need, for the buying of victuals for our men, with other particular charges.

So in the end of thirty days, our ship lying before the city called Sakay, three leagues, or 23 leagues from Ozaca, where the Emperor at that time lay, commandment came from the Emperor, that our ship should be carried to the Easter part of the land, called Quanto, whither according to his commandment we were carried, the distance being about 120 leagues. Our passage thither was long by reason of contrary winds, so that the Emperor was there long before us. Coming to the land of Quanto, and near to the city Eddo, where the Emperor was : being arrived, we sought all means by supplications to get our ship clear, and to seek our best profit, to come where the Hollanders have their trade : in which suit we spent much of the money given us.

Also, in this time, three or four of our men rebelled against the Captain and me, and made a mutiny with the rest of our men, so that we had much trouble with them. For they would not abide me any longer in the ship, but every one would be a commander: and they would every one have their parts of the money that was given by the Emperor. It would be too tedious to write the particulars of all that passed herein. Therefore for quietness' sake we divided the money to every one as his place was : and this was after we had been two years in Japan. After which time, when we had received a denial, that we should not have our ship, but must abide in Japan, our company having their parts of the money, dispersed themselves every one where he thought best. In the end, the Emperor gave every man (to live upon) two pounds rice a day, and yearly so much as was worth eleven or twelve ducats a year : myself, the Captain, and mariners all alike.

So in process of four or five years the Emperor called me, and as he had done divers times before, so one time he would have me to make him a small ship : I answered

that I was no carpenter, and had no knowledge thereof : well, do it as well as you can, saith he, if it be not good it is no matter. Wherefore at his command I built him a ship of the burden of eighty tons, or thereabouts : which ship being made in all proportions as our manner is, he coming aboard to see it, liked it very well : by which means I came in more favour with him, so that I came often in his presence, who from time to time gave me presents, and at length a yearly revenue to live upon, much about seventy ducats by the year, with two pounds of rice a day also.

Now being in such grace and favour, by reason I taught him some points of geometry, and the mathematics, with other things : I pleased him so, that what I said could not be contradicted. At which my former enemies, Jesuits and Portugals, did greatly wonder, and entreated me to befriend them to the Emperor in their business : and so by my means, both Spaniards and Portugals have received friendship from the Emperor ; I recompensing their evil unto me with good. So, to pass my time to get my living, it hath cost me great labour and travail at the first ; but God hath blessed my labours.

In the end of five years, I made supplication to the King to go out of this land, desiring to see my poor wife and children according to conscience and nature. With the which request the Emperor was not well pleased, and would not let me go any more for my country, but that I must continue in his land. Yet in process of time, being in great favour with the Emperor, I made supplication again, by reason we had news that the Hollanders were in Achen and Patania ; which rejoiced us much, with hope that God should bring us to our country again, by one means or other. Then I made supplication again, and boldly spake

myself with him, at which he gave me no answer. I told him, if he would permit me to depart, I would be a means, that both the English and Hollanders should come and traffic there in his land. He answered, that he was desirous of both those nations' company for traffic, but would not part with me by any means : but bade me write to that purpose.

Seeing therefore that I could not prevail for myself, I sued that my Captain might depart, which suit he presently granted me. So having gotten his liberty, he embarked in a Japan Junk, and sailed to Patane : but he tarried there a year's space, waiting for Holland ships. And seeing none came, he went from Patane to Jor, where he found a fleet of nine sail : of which fleet Matleef was General, and in this fleet he was made Master again, which fleet sailed to Malacca, and fought with an Armado of Portugals: in which battle he was shot, and presently died : so that as yet, I think, no certain news is known, whether I be living or dead.

Therefore my desire is that my wife and two children may hear, that I am here in Japan : so that my wife is in a manner a widow, and my children fatherless : which thing only is my greatest grief of heart and conscience. I am a man not unknown in Ratcliffe and Limehouse, to my good master M. Nicholas Diggins, and M. Thomas Best, and M. Nicholas Isaac, and William Isaac, brothers, with many others ; also to M. William Jones, and M. Becket. Therefore may this letter come to any of their hands, or the copy of this letter : I know that company's mercy is such, that my friends and kindred shall have news, that I do as yet live in this vale of my sinful pilgrimage : the which thing again and again I do desire for Jesus' sake.

You shall understand, that the first ship that I did make made a voyage or two, and then the King com-

manded me to make another, the which I did, being of the burden of a hundred and twenty tons. In this ship I have made a voyage from Meaco to Eddo, being about the length as from London to the Lizard or Land's End of England. In the year of Our Lord 1609 the King lent this ship to the Governor of Manilla, to go with eighty of his men, to sail to Acapulco. In the year of Our Lord 1609 a great ship called the *S. Francisco*, being about a thousand tons, was cast away upon the coast of Japan, in the latitude of $35^{\circ} 50'$: by distress of weather she cut overboard her main mast, and bore up for Japan, and in the night before they were aware, they ran the ship upon the shore, which was cast away, in the which one hundred thirty and six men were drowned, and three hundred forty, or three hundred fifty saved: in which ship the Governor of Manilla as a passenger was to return to Nova Spania.

But this Governor was sent in the bigger ship of my building, in Anno 1610, to Acapulco. And in Anno 1611 this Governor returned another ship in her room, with a great present, and with an Ambassador to the Emperor, giving him thanks for his great friendship: and also sent the price of the Emperor's ship in goods and money: which ship the Spaniards have now in the Philippinas. Now for my service which I have done and daily do, being employed in the Emperor's service, he hath given me a living, like unto a lordship in England, with eighty or ninety husbandmen, who are as my servants and slaves: the like precedent was never done to any stranger before. Thus God hath provided for me after my great misery; His name hath and have the praise for ever. Amen.

Now, whether I shall come out of this land I know not. Until this present there hath been no means, but now through the trade of the Hollanders there is

means. In the year of Our Lord 1609, two Holland ships came to Japan. Their intention was to take the carrack that yearly came from Macao, and being some five or six days too late, nevertheless, they came to Firando, and came to the Court to the Emperor : where they were in great friendship received, conditioning with the Emperor yearly, to send a ship or two : and so they departed with the Emperor's pass. Now, this year 1611 there is a small ship arrived, with cloth, lead, elephants' teeth, damask, and black taffatas, raw silk, pepper, and other commodities : and they have showed cause why they missed the former year 1610 according to promise yearly to come. This ship is well received, and with great kindness entertained.

You shall understand that the Hollanders have here an Indies of money : for they need not to bring silver out of Holland into the East Indies. For in Japan, there is much silver and gold to serve their turns in other places where need requireth in the East Indies. But the merchandise, which is here vendible¹ for ready money, is raw silk, damask, black taffatas, black and red cloth of the best, lead, and such like goods. So, now understanding by this Holland ship lately arrived here, that there is a settled trade driven by my countrymen in the East Indies : I presume that amongst them, some, either merchants, masters, or mariners, must needs know me. Therefore I have emboldened myself to write these few lines in short, being desirous not to be over-tedious to the reader.

This island of Japan is a great land, and lieth to the northward in the latitude of 48°, and the southernmost part of it, in 35°, and the length of it by East by North, and West by South (for so it lieth) is two hundred and

¹ Vendible : marketable.

twenty English leagues. The breadth South and North of it thirteen degrees twenty leagues to the degree, is two hundred sixty leagues, and is almost square.

The people of this island of Japan are good of nature, courteous above measure, and valiant in war: their justice is severely executed without any partiality upon transgressors of the law. They are governed in great civility I think, no land better governed in the world by civil policy. The people are very superstitious in their religion, and are of divers opinions. There are many Jesuits and Franciscan Friars in this land, and they have converted many to be Christians, and have many churches in the island.

Thus, in short I am constrained to write, hoping that by one means or other, in process of time I shall hear of my wife and children: and so with patience I wait the good will and pleasure of God Almighty, desiring all those to whom this letter may come, to use the means to acquaint my good friends with it, that so my wife and children may hear of me: by which means there may be hope, that I may hear of my wife and children before my death: the which the Lord grant to His glory, and my comfort. Amen.

Dated in Japan the two and twentieth of October, 1611.

By your unworthy friend and servant, to command in what I can,

WILLIAM ADAMS

To my unknown friends and countrymen, desiring this letter by your good means, or the news or copy of this letter, may come to the hands of one, or many of my acquaintance in Limehouse, or elsewhere, or in Kent in Gillingham by Rochester.

From "Purchas His Pilgrimes" 1625

HENRY HUDSON'S DISCOVERIES AND DEATH

1607-1611

The fair breeze blew, the white foam flew,
The furrow followed free ;
We were the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea.

The Ancient Mariner.

HENRY HUDSON, 1607, discovered further north toward the pole, than, perhaps, any before him. He found himself in $80^{\circ} 23'$, where they felt it hot, and drank water to cool their thirst. They saw land (as they thought) to 82° , and further on the shore they had snow, morses' teeth, deers' hornes, whale-bones, and footing of other beasts, with a stream of fresh water. The next year, 1608, he set forth on a discovery to the north-east, at which time they met, as both himself and Juet have testified, a mermaid in the sea, seen by Thomas Hills and Robert Rainer. Another voyage he made, 1609, and coasted Newfoundland, and thence along to Cape Cod.

In the year 1610, Sir Tho. Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, and Master John Wostenholme, with other their friends, furnished out the said Henry Hudson, to try if, through any of those inlets which Davis saw but durst not enter, on the western side of Fretum Davis, any passage might be found to the other ocean called the South Sea. The

bark was named the *Discoverie*. They passed by Iceland, and saw Mount Hecla cast out fire (a noted sign of foul weather towards); they had there a bath hot enough to scald a fowl. They raised Gronland the fourth of June, and Desolation after that; whence they plied north-west among islands of ice, whereon they might run and play, and filled sweet water out of ponds therein: some of them aground in six or seven score fathom water, and on divers of them bears and patriches.¹ They gave names to certain islands, of God's Mercy, Prince Henry's Foreland, K. James's Cape, Q. Anne's Cape.

One morning, in a fog, they were carried by a set of the tide from NE. into one of the inlets above mentioned, the depth whereof and plying forward of the ice made Hudson hope it would prove a thoroughfare. After he had sailed herein by his computation 300 leagues west, he came to a small strait of two leagues over, and very deep water, through which he passed between two headlands, which he called, that on the South Cape Wostenholme, the other to the NW. Digges Iland, in 62° 44', into a spacious sea, wherein he sailed above a hundred leagues south, confidently proud that he had won the passage.

But finding at length by shoal water that he was embayed, he was much distracted therewith, and committed many errors, especially in resolving to winter in that desolate place, in such want of necessary provision. The third of November he moored his bark in a small cove, where they had all undoubtedly perished, but that it pleased God to send them several kinds of fowl; they killed of white partridges above 120 dozen. These left them at the spring, and other succeeded in

¹ Patriches : partridges.

their place, swan, goose, teal, duck, all easy to take ; besides the blessing of a tree, which in December blossomed, with leaves green and yellow, of an aromatical savour, and being boiled yielded an oily substance, which proved an excellent salve, and the decoction being drunk proved as wholesome a potion, whereby they were cured of the scorbutic, sciaticas, cramps, convulsions, and other diseases, which the coldness of the climate bred in them.

At the opening of the year also, there came to his ship's side such abundance of fish of all sorts, that they might therewith have fraught themselves for their return, if Hudson had not too desperately pursued the voyage, neglecting this opportunity of storing themselves with fish, which he committed to the care of certain careless dissolute villains, which in his absence conspired against him ; in few days the fish all forsook them. Once a savage visited them, who for a knife, glass, and beads given him, returned with beavers' skins, deer skins, and a sled.

At Hudson's return, they set sail for England. But in a few days, their victuals being almost spent and he, out of his despair, letting fall some words of setting some on shore, the former conspirators (the chief whereof was Hen. Greene, none of their allowed company, but taken in by Hudson himself ; and one Wilson) entered his cabin in the night and forced him, the master, together with his son John Hudson, Tho. Widowes, Arn. Ludlo, Sidrach Faner, Ad. Moore, Hen. King, Mic. Bute, to take shallop and seek their fortune. But see what sincerity can do in the most desperate trials. One Philip Staffe, an Ipswich man, who, according to his name, had been a principal staff and stay to the weaker and more enfeebled courages of his companions in the whole action, lightening and unlightening their drooping darkened spirits, with sparks from his own resolution ;

their best purveyor with his piece on shore, and both a skilful carpenter and lusty mariner on board ; when he could by no persuasions, seasoned with tears, divert them from their designs, notwithstanding they entreated him to stay with them, yet chose rather to commit himself to God's mercy in the forlorn shallop, than with such villains to accept of likelier hopes.

A few days after, their victuals being spent, the ship came aground at Digges Island, and so continued divers hours, till a great flood (which they by this accident took first notice of) came from the westward and set them on float. Upon the cliffs of this island they found abundance of tame fowls, whereof they took two or three hundred, and seeing a great long boat with forty or fifty savages upon the shore, they sent on land ; and for some of their toys had deer skins well dressed, morse-teeth, and some few furs. One of our men went on land to their tents, one of them remaining for hostage, in which tents they lived by hordes, men, women, and children ; they are big-boned, broad-faced, flat-nosed, and small-footed, like the Tartars : their apparel of skins, but wrought all very handsomely, even gloves and shoes. The next morning Greene would needs go on shore with some of his chief companions, and that unarmed, notwithstanding some advised and intreated him to the contrary. The savages entertained him with a cunning ambush, and at the first onset shot this mutinous ringleader into the heart, and Wilson, his brother in evil, had the like inheritance, dying swearing and cursing : Perse, Thomas, and Moter died a few days after of their wounds. Everywhere can Divine Justice find executioners.

The boat, by God's blessing, with some hurt men, escaped in this manner. One Abacuck Pricket, a servant of Sir Dudley Digges, whom the mutineers had saved

in hope to procure his master to work their pardon, was left to keep the shallop, where he sat in a gown, sick and lame, at the stern : upon whom, at the instant of the ambush, the leader of all the savages leapt from a rock, and with a strange kind of weapon, indented, broad and sharp, of bright steel, riveted into a handle of morse-teeth, gave him divers cruel wounds, before he could from under his gown draw a small Scottish dagger, wherewith at one thrust into his side he killed this savage, and brought him off with the boat, and some of the hurt company that got to him by swimming. Being got aboard with a small weak and wounded company, they made from this island unto the northern continent, where they saw a large opening of the sea north-westward, and had a great flood, with such a large billow, as they say, is nowhere but in the ocean, from hence they made all possible haste homewards, passing the whole straits, and so home, without ever striking sail or any other let, which might easily have made it impossible. For their best sustenance left them was sea-weeds fried with candles' end, and the skins of the fowls they had eaten. Some of their men were starved, the rest all so weak, that only one could lie along upon the helm and steer. By God's great goodness, the sixth of September, 1611, they met with a fisherman of Foy, by whose means they came safe into England.

From " Purchas His Pilgrimes," 1625

MONSON AND THE PIRATES

1614

Sir William Monson (1569–1643), the author of an interesting collection of *Naval Tracts*, containing many details of naval procedure and expeditions of his day, spent some fifty years of an active life at sea. When only twenty years of age he commanded a vessel in a voyage to the Azores. He was a prisoner in Spain for two years, and was knighted as a reward for his services in the Cadiz Expedition of 1596. He was Admiral of the Narrow Seas in 1604, and was Vice-Admiral of the Fleet under the Earl of Lindsey in 1635.

THE alarms occasioned by the pirates on the Scottish coast rose at length to such a height, that his Majesty was earnestly importuned to furnish some ships for the immediate protection of that part of the kingdom, and Sir William Monson and Sir Francis Howard were dispatched in such haste that the provision for their vessels was sent after them. They left Margate on the 14th of May, 1614, and arrived at Leith on the 23rd.

They reached Sinclair Castle on the 1st of June—the residence of the Earl of Caithness, and the utmost promontory of Great Britain. Here they found that the accounts of the pirates had been strangely magnified; from twenty in number they dwindled down to two; and both of these were men of base extraction—one of them having been but a short time before boatswain's mate to Sir William in the narrow seas, and the other a common sailor. Nor could the latter be fairly considered a pirate, for he had no sooner discovered the

real nature of their lawless courses than he abandoned them, and placed himself in the hands of the Earl of Caithness, where Monson found him and his bark, and brought both away. Clarke, the boatswain's mate, had been ashore the day before, receiving friendly entertainment from the Earl, whose house and tenants were so exposed to his depredations that his lordship thought it prudent to maintain pacific relations with him; but hearing that Sir William was approaching, he left the coast and fled into the island, where he recruited himself by levying spoils on the poor fishermen.

Sir William Monson, finding it useless to remain at Caithness, passed on to the island of Orkney, where he left Sir Francis Howard in guard of the coast, proceeding himself in pursuit of Clarke. After some time spent at sea, exploring every place where there was a probability of finding the pirate, he put into the island of Shetland, and went from thence to the Hebrides.

Disappointed in the object of his search, he changed his course, and sailed for Broad Haven in Ireland, a harbour much frequented by pirates in consequence of its security and remoteness, few people being acquainted with it, and the pirates being particularly drawn there by a resident gentleman. The danger he incurred in this expedition was very great. Before he came in sight of the coast of Ireland, he met with so furious a storm and ground sea, "that it were fit only for a poet to describe." Of the four vessels he had in company, one was swallowed up in the ocean, and the other three were dispersed and never saw each other again until they met in England.

On the 28th of June he arrived at Broad Haven, "the wellhead of all pirates." The only person in his ship who was acquainted with the place, was the pirate he had taken from the Earl of Caithness, and he made a

profitable use of this man in the execution of the ingenious stratagem he resorted to on this occasion. As soon as he came to an anchor, he made choice of such persons of his company as had formerly been pirates, and sent them to "the gentleman of the place" with a ready-made story well calculated to impose upon that worthy individual. The man who was chiefly trusted with this service described Monson as a pirate, under the name of Captain Manwaring, spoke boastfully of the wealth he had on board, and extolled his royal disposition and the liberality he extended to those who showed him courtesy. To give a greater appearance of truth to all this, the crafty messenger used the names of several pirates of his acquaintance, and feigned messages to the women from their sweethearts, making them believe that he had tokens for them on board.

Mr. Cormat, the gentleman of the place, acted warily, notwithstanding, and, absenting himself from the house, left his wife and so-called daughters to entertain the new guests till he saw the coast clear; then returning home, he proffered his services to Captain Manwaring, recounting the favours he had bestowed upon sundry pirates, at imminent peril to himself, and volunteering to send two gentlemen of trust on board the next morning by way of assurance of sincerity. In the meanwhile he advised them to send some of their men on shore, armed, that it might appear their cattle was taken by violence; and he would appoint a place where his own cattle should be found with their ears split, to distinguish them from other beasts. Thus far the plot was carried on with complete success, and the messengers returned to the vessel at night. The next morning, at dawn of day, the comedy began. Captain Chester went on shore with fifty armed men in a disorderly manner, like pirates; the cattle were killed;

and the Captain, in a secret manner, invited to Cormat's house—coming, however, publicly, to make it appear that he came without invitation. He received a riotous welcome, especially from the daughters, who were impatient to obtain the tokens from their sweethearts, and to see Captain Manwaring, who, it was expected, would enrich them all.

Cormat strictly fulfilled all his undertakings. The two ambassadors went on board agreeably to his undertaking, and delivered a friendly message to Sir William, who now began to think that the play was sufficiently advanced for a discovery. When they had delivered their message, Sir William desired them to observe everything around them carefully, and to tell him whether they thought that ship and company were pirates? It was idle to dissemble any longer, especially as these men could not, if they would, betray Sir William's design. He accordingly reproached them for their transgressions, told them to prepare for death, and ordered them to be put in irons, taking care that neither boat nor man should be allowed to go on shore until he was ready to land.

The time now approached for Sir William to visit the gentleman's house, and four or five hundred people collected to attend him from the sea-side. He affected to be shy of such a multitude, and to entertain some fear of treachery; at which they redoubled their protestations of friendship, confirmed by all manner of oaths and vows, and three of the principal men ran up to their arm-pits in water, striving who should have the honour of carrying Captain Manwaring on shore. One of these was an Englishman, and formerly a London tradesman; another was a schoolmaster; and the third a Galloway merchant, whose chief business was to trade with the pirates. These three men conducted

Sir William to Cormat's house amid general rejoicings, and everybody strained forward to obtain a sight of the munificent Captain Manwaring.

When he reached Cormat's house, the three girls conducted him to the hall, strewn with rushes for the occasion, where a harper, seated in a corner, played merrily for the guests. In the height of these tumultuous enjoyments the Englishman was particularly pleasant. He seemed as if new life had been infused into him; showed Sir William a pass he had procured on false pretences from the sheriff, authorizing him to travel from Clare to make inquisition of goods, which he affected to have lost at sea; laughed heartily at the sheriff for being made the dupe of such a story, and explained to Sir William the advantage that might be made of the pass in sending to and fro in the country without suspicion. His "antic behaviour," says Sir William, "was enough to put the melancholiest man in good humour; sometimes he played the part of a commanding sheriff; then he acted his own, with many witty passages how he deceived the sheriff."

The exuberance of his devotion to Captain Manwaring so completely mastered all considerations of danger, that he proffered him the service of ten mariners who lay lurking in the neighbourhood, expecting the arrival of men-of-war, and who were entirely at his command. Sir William of course embraced the offer, with a promise of reward, and caused the mercurial Englishman to redeem his undertaking at once by writing for the men, which he did as follows:—"Honest brother Dick, and the rest, we are all made men; for valiant Captain Manwaring and all his gallant crew are arrived in this place. Make haste; for he flourisheth in wealth, and is most kind to all men. Farewell; and once again make haste."

Sir William took charge of the letter, with the pass enclosed in it, and would doubtless have availed himself of it to capture the runaways, but night drawing in it was necessary to bring the play to a conclusion. Desiring the harp to cease playing, he commanded silence, and proceeded to address his motley and astonished audience. He told them that, hitherto, they had played their part, and he had no share in the comedy ; but though his was last, and might be termed the epilogue yet it would prove more tragical than theirs. He undeceived them as to his being a pirate, but that, on the contrary, he was a scourge to all such, and was sent by his Majesty to discover, suppress, and punish them and their abettors, whom his Majesty did not think worthy of the name of subjects. He informed them that he had received information of Cormat's practices, and that he could devise no better expedient to confirm the truth of it than by assuming the habit of a pirate ; and they had made themselves guilty in the eyes of the law without further accusations ; and that there now remained nothing but to proceed to their executions, by virtue of his commission ; for which purpose he had brought a gallows ready framed, which he caused to be set up, intending to begin the mournful dance with the two men they thought had been merry-making aboard the ship.

As to the Englishman ; he should come next, because, being an Englishman, his offence did surpass the rest. He told the schoolmaster that as members are governed by the head, the way to make his members sound was to shorten him by the head, and therefore willed him to admonish his scholars from the top of the gallows, which should be a pulpit prepared for him. He condemned the merchant as a receiver of stolen goods, and worse than the thief himself ; reminding him that his time

was not long, and hoping that he might make his account with God, and that he might be found a good merchant and factor to Him though he had been a malefactor to the law.

The mirth of the goodly assembly was now on the sudden turned into mourning; and Cormat and his associates abandoned themselves to despair. Night having now arrived, Sir William retired to his ship, leaving the carpenter ashore to finish the gallows, which was done next morning, and the prisoners were brought out to die. But it was not Sir William's intention to act with such severity, and, being sued strenuously by the people, he accepted their promise never to connive at pirates again, and "after four-and-twenty hours' fright in irons, he pardoned them."

The Englishman was the only individual who suffered any actual punishment. He was banished from the coast, and a copy of his pass sent to the sheriff with a hint to be more cautious in future in granting his safe conduct.

The next morning, while he was at anchor in Broad Haven, Sir William descried a ship bearing into the harbour, which by her working he judged to be a pirate. Having the opportunity of a heavy fog, he put himself into his boat, hoping, although it blew strongly, to come upon her unawares; but just as he was within shot of her the fog cleared up, and the pirate, perceiving him, cut cable, and stood off to sea, the admiral pursuing at great risk of being drowned in his boat. For six days she kept the sea in foul weather, and anchored on the seventh at an island within seven leagues of Broad Haven, where no attempt could be made upon her in consequence of the wind. Under shelter of the darkness of the night, the pirate contrived to dispatch a letter secretly to Cormat, who, terrified by the peril from

which he had so recently escaped, carried it immediately to Sir William. The terms of the letter were sufficiently indicative of the pirate's fears :—" Dear Friend—I was bearing into Broad Haven to give you corn for ballast, but I was frightened by the king's ship, I supposed to be there. I pray you send me word what ship it is ; for we stand in great fear. I pray you, provide me two kine ; for we are in great want of victuals : whensoever you shall make a fire on shore, I will send my boat to you."

Sir William dictated the answer to this momentous epistle, and made Cormat sign it, to the effect that "he rejoiced to hear of his health, and desired to see him. He bid him be confident this ship could not endanger him ; for she was not the king's, as he imagined, but one of London that came from the Indies with her men sick, and many dead. He promised him two oxen and a calf ; to observe his directions by making a fire ; and gave him hope to see him within two nights."

Three or four of the ship's company, disguised in Irish habits, were sent to accompany the messenger, with instructions to remain in ambush. The pirates kept an anxious lookout for the beacon fire, and it was no sooner lighted than they rowed ashore, making no delay, but receiving the letter and hastily returning to their vessel. Cormat's assurances gave them the utmost confidence, and, to make amends for the six days of foul weather at sea, they surrendered themselves to the most extravagant rejoicings.

In the meanwhile, Sir William was quietly effecting the plan he had secretly laid for their capture. Understanding that there was "a nook of land two miles in breadth, which separated the river where the pirates lay from another river which flowed into the sea opposite to the island, he took several of the Irish, without com-

municating his intentions to them, and, with the help of his own company, caused them to draw two boats overland; and having reached the other river, he made them row thirty miles to the place where it was agreed the fire should be made. The Irish who assisted at this manœuvre were quite as much astonished at it as the pirates, who were so amazed when Sir William appeared among them, that "they had not power to resist, but yielded like so many wolves caught in their own snares." The whole gang were seized and carried to Broad Haven, where the captain was executed as an example to the rest, as much mercy being shown to his associates as the rigorous character of the admiral's instructions would permit. By this achievement the pirates were effectually banished from Broad Haven, and for some time afterwards they wholly abandoned the Irish coast.

The country was so completely cleared of the seafaring adventurers, that Sir William went, to use his own words, groping along the coast, not being able to procure a pilot; touching on the 12th of July at Vintry, which had relieved him twice before; and making a complete circuit of the three kingdoms before he reached the Downs, on the 18th of August.

ROBERT SOUTHHEY

THE MANNER OF KILLING THE WHALE

1620

William Baffin first came into note in 1612, when he sailed in an expedition to Greenland. The next two years he acted as pilot in expeditions to Spitzbergen for the Muscovy Company. In 1615-16 he was engaged in exploring in the North-West. From 1617 he was in the service of the East India Company, and was killed in the Persian Gulf in 1622.

THE whale is a fish, or sea beast, of a huge bigness, about 60 feet long and 18 feet thick. His head seems to be one-third part of his whole quantity. His fins (which we call whalebone in England) do grow and are wholly included within his spacious mouth, being fastened, and, as it were, rooted in his uppermost jaw, spreading on both sides of his tongue, in number more than 80 on one side, and as many on the other side. The longest fins are placed in the midst of his mouth, and the rest do orderly shorten, more and more, both backwards and forwards, from 12 feet to less than 3 inches in length. His eyes are not much bigger than the eyes of an ox, and his body in fashion round, with a very broad-spreading tail, which is of a rough and solid substance, and therefore it is used for to make chopping blocks, to chop the whales' fat upon (which we call blubber); and of other like matter are also his two swimming fins, which serve, at some times, for the same use.

The whale comes often above water, and will commonly spout eight or nine times before he goes under again,

by which spouting of water we may discern him when he is two or three leagues distant from us. When he enters into the sounds, our whale killers do presently sally forth to meet him, either from our ships, or else from some other place more convenient for that purpose, where to expect him, making very speedy way toward him with their shallops. But, most commonly, before they come near him, he will be gone down under water, and continue, perhaps, a good while ere he rise again; so that sometimes they row past him, and therefore are they always very circumspect, looking if they can discern his way under the water (which they call his wake), or else see him farther off by his spouting, being risen.

Then, coming near him, they row resolutely toward him, as though they intended to force the shallop upon him. But so soon as they come within stroke of him, the harponier (who stands up ready in the head of the boat) darts his harping iron at him out of both his hands, wherewith the whale being stricken, he presently descends to the bottom of the water, and therefore the men in the shallop do wear out 40, 50, or 60 fathoms of rope—yea, sometimes 100, or more, according as the depth requireth. For upon the socket of the harping iron there is made fast a rope, which lies orderly coiled up in the stern of the boat, which, I say, they do wear forth until they perceive him to be rising again, and then they hale in some of it, both to give him the less scope, and also that it may be the stronger, being shorter.

For when he riseth from the bottom, he comes not directly above the water, but swims away with an uncontrolled force and swiftness, hurrying the shallop after him, with her head so close drawn down to the water, that she seems ever ready to be haled under it. When he hath thus drawn him perhaps a mile or more—

which is done in a very short time, considering her swiftness—then will he come spouting above the water ; and the men row up to him, and strike him with their long lances, which are made purposely for that use. In lancing of the whale they strike him as near his swimming fin, and as low under water as they can conveniently, to pierce into his entrails. But when he is wounded he is like to wrest the lance out of the strikers' hand ; so that sometimes two men are fain to pluck it out, although but one man did easily thrust it in.

But now will he frisk and strike with his tail very forcibly, sometimes hitting the shallop, and splitting her asunder, sometimes, also, maiming or killing some of the men. And for that cause, there are always two or three shallops about the killing of one whale, that one of them may relieve and take in the men out of another, being split. When he hath received his deadly wound, then casteth he forth blood where formerly he spouted water ; and before he dies he will sometimes draw the shallops three or four miles from the place where he was first stricken with the harping iron. When he is dying, he most commonly turneth his belly uppermost, and then do the men fasten a rope, or small hauser, to the hinder part of his body, and with their shallops (made fast one to another) they tow him to the ships with his tail foremost ; and then they fasten him to the stern of some ship appointed for that purpose, while he is cut up in manner as followeth.

Two or three men come into a boat, or shallop, to the side of the whale, one man holding the boat close to the whale with a boat-hook, and another, who stands either in the boat or upon the whale, cuts and scores the fat, which we call blubber, in square-like pieces, 3 or 4 feet long, with a great cutting knife. Then, to raise it from the flesh, there is a crab, or capstow, set

purposely upon the poop of the ship, from which there descends a rope with an iron hook at the end of it, and this hook is made to take fast hold of a piece of the fat, or blubber, and as, by turning the capstow, it is raised and lifted up, the cutter, with his long knife, looseth it from the flesh, even as if the lard of a swine were, by piece and piece, cut off from the lean. When it is in this manner clean cut off, then do they lower the capstow and let it down to float upon the water, making a hole in one side or corner of it, whereby they fasten it upon a rope.

And so they proceed to cut off more pieces, making fast together ten or twelve of them at once, to be towed ashore at the stern of a boat or shallop. These pieces, being brought to the shore side, are, one by one, drawn upon the shore by the help of a high crane there placed, and at length are hoisted up from the ground over a vessel which is set to receive the oil that runs from it as it is cut into smaller pieces; for whilst it hangeth thus in the crane, two men do cut it into little pieces, about a foot long and half a foot thick, and put them into the foresaid vessel, from which it is carried to the choppers by two boys who, with little flesh-hooks, take in each hand a piece, and so convey it into tubs, or old casks, which stand behind the choppers, out of which tubs it is taken again, and is laid for them, as they are ready to use it, upon the same board they stand on.

The choppers stand at the side of a shallop, which is raised from the ground and set up of an equal height with the coppers, and stands about two yards distant from the furnaces. Then a fir-deal is laid along the one side of the shallop within board, and upon it do they set their chopping blocks, which are made of the whale's tail, or else of his swimming fin. Now the blubber is laid ready for them by some appointed for

that purpose as before is set down, in such small pieces as the boys do bring from the crane ; and so they take it up with little hand-hooks, laying it upon their blocks, where, with chopping knives, they chop it into very small pieces, about an inch and a half square. Then, with a short thing of wood, made in fashion like a coal rake, they put the chopped blubber off from the block down into the shallop, out of which it is taken again with a copper ladle, and filled into a great tub which hangs upon the arm of a gibbet, that is made to turn to and again between the blubber boat and the coppers.

This tub containeth as much blubber as will serve one of the coppers at one boiling, and therefore, so soon as it is emptied, it is presently filled again, that it may be ready to be put into the copper when the frittires are taken out. These frittires, as we call them, are the small pieces of chopped blubber, which, when the oil is sufficiently boiled, will look brown, as if they were fried ; and they are taken out of the coppers, together with some of the oil, by copper ladles, and put into a wicker basket that stands over another shallop, which is placed on the other side of the furnaces, and serves as a cooler to receive the oil drained through the said baskets.

And this shallop, because it receives the oil hot out of the two coppers, is kept continually half full of water, which is not only a means to cool the oil before it runs into the cask, but also to cleanse it from soot and dross, which descends to the bottom of the boat. And out of this shallop the oil runneth into a long trough, or gutter of wood, and thereby is conveyed into butts and hogsheads, which, being filled, are bunged up, marked, and rolled by, and others set in their place. Then is the bung taken out again, that the oil may cool ; for, notwithstanding the shallop is half full of

water, yet, the coppers being continually plied, the oil keeps very hot in the boat, and runs also hot into the cask, which sometimes is the occasion of great leakage. Now concerning the fins.

When the whale lies floating at the stern of the ship, where he is cut up, they cut off his head, containing his tongue and fins, commonly called whalebone; and by a boat or shallop they tow it so near the shore as it can come, and there let it lie till the water flows again; for at high water it is drawn farther and farther upon the shore, by crabs and capstows there placed for that purpose, until, at low water, men may come to cut out the fins, which thing they do with hatchets, by five or six fins at once. And these are trailed farther up from the shore side, and then are severed each from another with hatchets, and by one, at once, are laid upon a fir-deal, or other board, raised up a convenient height for a man to stand at, who scrapeth off the white pithy substance that is upon the roots or great ends of the fins, with such scraping irons as coopers use, being instruments very fitting for the purpose. Then are they rubbed in the sand, to cleanse them from grease, which they receive when the heads are brought to the shore side; for whilst the whale is in cutting up, his head is under the water, and his fins remain clean; but being brought near the shore and grounded, then does the grease cleave into them at the ebbing or falling of the water, which is always fatty with blubber that floats upon it continually. When the fins are thus made clean, they are sorted into five several kinds, and are made up into bundles of fifty containing of each sort ten fins. These bundles are bound up with cords, and upon each of them there is tied a stick whereon is written some number, and the Company's mark set, and so they are made ready to be shipped.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE *SOVEREIGN OF THE SEAS*

1637

UPON the beak head sitteth royal king Edgar on horse-back, trampling upon seven kings. Upon the stemine¹ head there is a Cupid, or a child resembling him, bestriding and bridling a lion. On the bulk head right forward stand six several statues in sundry postures, their figures representing Counsel, Care, and Industry; Counsel holding in her hand a closed or folded scroll; Care a sea compass; Industry, a lint stock² fired. Upon the other, to correspond with the former, Force handling a sword; Virtue, a spherical globe; and Victory, a wreath of laurel. The moral is, that in all high enterprises there ought to be, first, Counsel to undertake, then Care to manage, and Industry to perform: and in the next place, where there is Ability and Strength to oppose, and Virtue to direct, Victory consequently is always at hand ready to crown the undertaking.

Upon the hances of the waist are four figures, with their several properties: Jupiter riding upon his eagle, with his trisulk,³ from which he darteth thunder, in his hand; Mars, with his sword and target, a fox being his emblem; Neptune, with his sea-horse, dolphin, and

¹ Stemine head: top of the stem.

² Lint stock: linstock, a stick to hold a lighted match.

³ Trisulk: three-forked dart.

trident ; and lastly, Æolus upon a chameleon, a beast that liveth only by the air, with the four winds his ministers or agents.

I come now to the stern, where you may perceive upon the upright of the upper counter standeth Victory, in the middle of the frontispiece, with this general motto, *Validis incumbite remis*. Her wings are equally displayed : on one arm she weareth a crown, on the other a laurel, which imply Riches and Honour. In her two hands she holdeth two mottoes : her right hand, which pointeth to Jason, bears this inscription, *Nava*.

She pointeth to Hercules on the sinister side, with his club in his hand, with this motto, *Clava*, as if she would say, O Hercules, be thou as valiant with thy club upon the land as Jason is industrious with his oar upon the water. Hercules again pointeth to Æolus, the god of winds, and saith, *Flato*, who answereth him again, *Flo*. Jason pointing to Neptune, the god of the seas, riding upon a sea-horse, saith, *Faveto*, to whom Neptune answereth, *No*.

In the lower counter of the stern, on either side of the helm, is this inscription :

Qui mare, qui fluctus, ventos, navesque gubernat,
Sospitet hanc aream, Carole magne, tuam.

Thus English :—

He who seas, winds, and navies doth protect,
Great Charles, thy great ship in her course direct !

There are other things in this vessel worthy remark, at least, if not admiration ; namely, that one tree or oak made four of the principal beams of this great ship, which was forty-four foot of strong and serviceable timber in length, three foot diameter at the top, and ten foot diameter at the stubb, or bottom. Another as worthy of

special observation is, that one piece of timber, which made the kelson, was so great and weighty that twenty-eight oxen and four horses with much difficulty drew it from the place where it grew, and whence it was cut, down unto the water-side.

There is one thing above all things for the world to take special notice of, that she is beside tonnage so many tons in burden, as there have been years since our blessed Saviour's incarnation, namely, 1637, and not one under or over ; a most happy omen, which though it was not the first projected or intended, is now by true computation found so to happen.

It would be too tedious to insist upon every ornament belonging to this incomparable vessel, yet thus much concerning her outward appearance. She hath two galleries of a side, and all parts of the ship are carved also with trophies of artillery, and types of honour, as well belonging to land and sea, with symbols, emblems, and impresses appertaining to the art of navigation ; as also their two sacred majesties' badges of honour, arms, and escutcheons, with several angels holding their letters in compartments : all which works are gilded quite over, and no other colour but gold and black to be seen about her ; and thus much, in a succinct way, I have delivered unto you concerning her inward and outward decorations. I come now to describe her exact dimensions.

Her length by the keel is 128 foot, or thereabouts, within some few inches. Her main breadth or wideness, from side to side 48 foot. Her utmost length from the fore-end of the stern, 232 foot. She is in height, from the bottom of her keel to the top of her lantern, 76 foot. She beareth five lanterns, the biggest of which will hold ten persons to stand upright, and without shouldering or pressing one the other.

She hath three flush decks and a forecastle, a half

deck, a quarter deck, and a round house. Her lower tier hath thirty ports, which are to be furnished with demi-cannon and whole cannon throughout, being able to bear them. Her middle tier hath also thirty ports for demi-culverins and whole culverins. Her third tier hath twenty-six ports for other ordnance. Her forecastle hath twelve ports, and her half deck hath fourteen ports. She hath thirteen or fourteen ports more within board for murdering pieces, besides a great many loop-holes out of the cabin for musket-shot. She carrieth, moreover, ten pieces of chase ordnance in her right forward, and ten right aft, that is, according to land service, in the front and the rear. She carrieth eleven anchors, one of them weighing four thousand four hundred pounds, and according to these are her cables, masts, sails, cordage, which, considered together, seeing his Majesty is at this infinite charge, both for the honour of this nation and the security of his kingdom, it should be a great spur and encouragement to all his faithful and loving subjects to be liberal and willing contributors towards the ship money.

THE THREE DAYS' BATTLE IN THE CHANNEL

1653

DAY was just breaking on the morning of February 18, when the vanguard of the Dutch Admiral was descried from the mast-head of the *Triumph*. Blake dressed and went to the outlook. Nature could scarcely boast a grander spectacle than rose before him as the sun came forth, showing that heaving wintry sea covered with ships, and lighting their sails and pennons with its pale radiance. The darkness of the weather had prevented mutual recognition until the foremost ships were within a league or so of each other. Fortunately the English admirals were all together, the *Triumph* having Penn's ship, the *Speaker*, and Lawson's, the *Fairfax*, both within call; but Monk was some miles astern in the *Vanguard*, and the main body of the fleet lay about a league and a half apart at the moment when the Dutchmen came in sight.

Tromp saw his advantage and pressed it home. With the wind in his favour he might have carried his convoy to the Scheldt in safety, and returned at his leisure to give battle; but he chose to play a bolder game, and fancying the enemy would be found unequal with a vanguard of some twenty ships to resist the weight of his attack, he sent his fleet of traders a little to windward, out of gun range, with orders for them to wait there and

witness the engagement. Personal combined with public reasons to lend a thrilling interest to the coming battle. The two nations had now had time to collect their best forces. Their largest ships were in the array. The most renowned admirals were on board the respective fleets : Blake, Deane, Penn and Lawson on the one side ; Tromp, Evertz, De Ruiter, Swers, Floritz and De Wilde, all great names in history, on the other. It was the first time Blake and Tromp had met on equal terms : even the common seamen felt that the day was come to test their relative prowess, and they burned with zeal to begin the struggle.

At the outset, all the advantages of position were with the Dutch, their ships had the wind, and were close up together ; and when their extended line of fire opened on the English vanguard, it seemed almost impossible for about twenty ships to withstand the crash of such tremendous broadsides. As usual, the *Triumph* was the first to engage, and the *Brederode*, ever in the van, advanced to meet her, reserving fire till the two vessels were within musket-shot of each other, and her charge could be delivered with the most deadly effect. With a strong breeze in his favour Tromp shot by the *Triumph*, pouring a fearful broadside into her as he passed ; and then, suddenly tacking round, fired a second close under her sails, splintering masts and spars, tearing canvas and cordage, and strewing the decks with heaps of killed and wounded men. With this fiery salute the two Admirals parted company for the day, Penn dashing in with the *Speaker* and other vessels to cover Blake from some part of the circle of fire in which he lay exposed to destruction.

The battle became general as the other divisions of the English fleet came up. On both sides the wreck was awful. In less than an hour after the first shot was launched from the guns of the *Triumph*, the sea was

covered with spars, torn sails and broken planks. Almost every ship engaged in the action had already had its cables cut asunder and its masts shot away. One moment an English crew were seen boarding a Dutch man-of-war, the next moment the boarders were driven back, and their own vessel was assailed in turn. Here there was a ship wrapped in flames ; there one was going down with all her men on deck, their cries unheard or their terrors unheeded by friend or foe ; elsewhere a fearful explosion sent decks and crew whirling into the black and lurid atmosphere. It is said in contemporary accounts, that the tremendous roar of the artillery could be heard along the shores of the Channel, from Boulogne on the one side to Portland on the other.

About midday Monk came up with the white division, and from time to time the other ships joined in the contest, thenceforward fought on nearly equal terms. De Ruiter kept up the credit of his old renown. Early in the battle he had singled out and engaged with the *Prosperous*, a hired merchantman of forty guns, commanded by Captain Barker ; but the fire of the English ship was maintained with such resolute steadiness that he grew impatient with the result of his distant fighting ; and ordering a boarding party to prepare for action, he ran his ship alongside the enemy, when his Dutchmen gallantly leaped on her deck pistol and sword in hand. The close combat lasted a few seconds only. Driving the assailants back to their ship, Barker threatened De Ruiter in his turn ; but the brave old seaman, shouting in his fierce humour to the men, " Come, my lads, that was nothing—at them again ! " led them to a second and more furious assault. With their numbers reduced and their ship unmanageable, Barker and his officers were unable to resist this murderous onset, and they were all made prisoners.

At that very instant Blake came to their assistance with several vessels. The prize was instantly recovered, and De Ruiter himself almost surrounded by the English. Vice-admiral Evertz and Captains Swers and Kruik hastened to relieve their countryman from his dangerous position, and the battle soon raged round this new centre with extraordinary violence. Penn's ship, the *Speaker*, was so shattered by the guns, that she was considered no longer fit for such service, and as soon as night put an end to the engagement of that first day, he was despatched to the Isle of Wight for the guard left at that station.

Kruik, in the *Ostrich*, fought like a true sailor, till his rigging and masts were shot away to the very hull, and his deck was covered with the dead bodies of his comrades. At last, he was boarded by the English; but as the unfortunate vessel appeared to be sinking, and her officers and crew were nearly all killed or wounded, the boarders made a hasty plunder of her contents and left her to her fate. De Wilde offered his aid in an effort to bring her off; but a sudden calm came on, and not having a yard of sail still spread, the attempt to tow her away failed, and she was again abandoned. Next morning, Blake found her floating at her own will, the unburied corpses lying where they had fallen the previous day, and not a living soul on board.

The fearless Captain De Port, seeing Swers roughly used by two English frigates, flew to the rescue with his ship, and the four enemies were immediately locked together. De Port's ship was struck between wind and water and began to fill; he himself was severely wounded by the fall of a huge splinter; nevertheless, he continued to encourage his men by shouts, and to flourish his hanger as he lay on his back writhing in agony, until ship and crew all went down into the great deep together. Effective as the Dutch cannonade had hitherto been thought,

it was no match for the destructive fire of the English frigates ; and after a desperate struggle, in which the enemies proved themselves worthy of each other, Swers' ship also went down, himself and several of his officers and crew being taken on board the frigates and their lives preserved.

Towards dusk, Blake felt himself strong enough to detach a number of his swiftest sailors with orders to gain the wind, and if possible prevent the escape of that vast fleet of rich traders ; but Tromp saw the movements of this squadron, and guessing its motive fell back with a great part of his fleet, so as to cover the convoy. This retreat put an end to the first day's engagement ; for seeing their admiral turn his face from the enemy, some of the Dutch captains hoisted sail and fled away under cover of the gathering darkness.

Blake remained master of the scene of action, but his ships were too far damaged and his men too much exhausted to permit of an active night chase in mid-winter. Heroic valour had characterized the officers and men on both sides. The Dutch had had eight men-of-war either taken by the enemy or destroyed. The *Prosperous*, the *Oak*, the *Assistance*, the *Sampson*, and several other English ships had been boarded and captured during some period of the day, though every vessel was afterwards recovered. The *Sampson* was our only loss on that day. Its brave commander, Captain Button, and nearly all his crew being slain, Blake took out of her the remaining officers and men and allowed her to drift away. This excepted, no other ship in the English fleet had suffered so severely as the *Triumph*. Her able captain, Andrew Ball, fell that day covered with glory ; Sparrow, the Admiral's new secretary, was shot down at his side ; and nearly half of the entire crew had been swept into eternity. Blake himself was wounded in the thigh, and the same

ball which lamed him for the remainder of his life, tore away part of Deane's buff coat. The enemy's loss in men could not be ascertained; it was known to be very great by the entire clearance of more than one vessel.

As soon as night came down, Blake's first care was to relieve the agonies of the wounded by sending them on shore to the well-prepared hospitals, where persons of all ranks and opinions vied with each other in the endeavour to promote their comfort and recovery; collections of money, clothes and linen being made for them throughout the West and the defects of the service made good by the spontaneous enthusiasm of the people. His own wound, though not really dangerous, demanded repose and proper medical treatment; but he would on no account listen to the friends who urged him to go on shore and seek for himself the relief which he had put in the way of his humblest comrade.

The two fleets lay almost close together, with their lights streaming all night across the wintry sea as beacons for each other's guidance. Until dawn the next day, every effective hand on board the English fleet was employed in restoring sails, stopping leaks, cleaning guns, and otherwise repairing the waste of war; everything was made ready to renew the contest on the morrow, for a dead calm had succeeded to the fresh breeze blowing when the battle began, and if this calm should continue, it was thought impossible for the Dutch to avoid another battle.

But as day broke a light wind sprang up, and Tromp, anxious now to take home his convoy in safety, disposed his fleet in the form of a crescent, the two hundred traders in his centre, and crowding every inch of sail that he could spread out, stood directly up the Channel. Blake followed with his whole power; the breeze which favoured the flight also aiding the pursuit; yet it was



BLAKE AND VAN TROMP.

twelve o'clock before the *Triumph* came within gunshot of the rearmost enemy, and nearly two before the main body came up with them off Dungeness. Again compelled to fight, Tromp ordered the merchants to make sail for the nearest Dutch port, keeping close under the French shore between Calais and Dunkirk for protection, and then turned like a panther on his pursuer.

The battle was renewed on both sides with fury. De Ruiter gave fresh proofs of his courage ; but the fortune of war was still against him. After some hours of this second engagement his vessel became unmanageable, and would have fallen into the enemy's hands had not Tromp seen his danger and sent Captain Duin to bring him out from the fight. With great difficulty he was extricated from his position and carried away. An hour or so later Tromp also began to fall back toward Boulogne, still, however, contesting every wave ; and the mingled rout and battle lasted until night again separated the hostile hosts.

Fortunately for the English fleet, though the air was bitterly cold, the sky was unusually clear for winter, so that the enemy's lights served them as polar-stars and enabled their ships to keep pretty close together and well up for the new battle of the morrow. On the second day Blake had captured or destroyed five Dutch men-of-war. The advantages gained by the recent reforms came out clearly in face of the enemy : the Admirals had not a single complaint to make as to the courage, steadiness and unity of purpose displayed by the inferior officers. In the Dutch fleet, on the contrary, want of concert, party bitterness and personal envy combined to clog the genius of the great commander. At the close of the second day's engagement several captains of ships sent word to the *Brederode* that they could resist no longer, pleading want of powder as an excuse, and Tromp was

compelled to send these men away from the main body in the night so as to prevent the treason and cowardice from spreading to the other ships. To conceal the true nature and cause of this defection, he made a pretence of giving them instructions to take up a new position to windward of the convoy, and make such a show of resistance as would keep the English frigates from coming too near. But this device failed of its own weakness. When daylight dawned, Blake saw at a glance that the fleet had been considerably reduced, and inferring that a squadron had been dispatched in the night to cover the flight of the merchants, he sent off a division of fleet sailers, drawing little water, in pursuit of them, while he himself bore down once more with the main body on his reduced but still unconquered enemy.

Tromp fought, as usual, with the most desperate courage : but he had now little hope, with his broken and divided power, of doing more than occupy Blake until his richly laden convoy could run into the nearest port. Even this was doubtful. After the first shock of the third day's battle, he sent Captain Van Ness to the merchants, with orders for them to crowd sail and make for Calais road, as he found himself unable to afford them more than a few hours' protection from the enemy. As the fight grew fiercer, he sent his Fiscal or Treasurer to urge them to press on faster, or the English frigates would soon be amongst them. But the wind then was blowing from the French coast, and notwithstanding his energetic attempts, Van Ness was unable to carry such a number of disorganised ships sufficiently near land to be out of danger.

More than half the Dutch frigates and men-of-war had now been taken, sunk or scattered ; and considering that it was a species of insanity in Tromp to continue the engagement until they were all destroyed, the other

captains, contrary to their express orders, retreated on the flying convoy. Confusion then reached its height. Some of the English frigates came up ; and the merchants, in their alarm and disorder, ran foul of each other, knocked them to pieces or fell blindly into the enemy's power. Still fighting with the retreating men-of-war, Blake arrived in the midst of this strange scene late in the afternoon, and finding several ships run against him, as if desirous of being captured, the thought occurred to him that this was a device of his wily adversary to stay the victorious pursuit, and give time to rally some part of the discomfited fleet, and he issued strict and instant commands that every warship still in a condition to follow and fight the enemy should press on with all its force against the main body, leaving the traders in their rear to be watched and seized by the frigates already assigned to that service, or driven into ports whence it would be easy to recover them should the Dutch fleet be swept utterly from the Channel. Darkness alone put an end to the exciting chase.

Tromp ran in under the French shore, some four miles from Calais, where he anchored the remnant of his once mighty fleet—now reduced to less than half the former number of masts, besides being damaged in every part. Blake consulted pilots and others well acquainted with the coast as to what Tromp could do in his new position ; and the general opinion of these men was, that the Dutch could not weather the coast of Artois, as the wind and tide then were, and would be compelled to come out again to sea in order to get home. He therefore cast his anchors and sat down to repair his damages. The night was unusually dark, with a high gale blowing, so that the enemy's lights could not be seen ; and when day again dawned the sea was clear in that direction, Tromp having slipped away and tided toward Dunkirk,

whence he got off into the harbours of Zealand. By twelve o'clock in the morning Blake was ready to give chase ; but no enemy being then visible, and feeling that it would be useless to follow the runaways into the flats and shallows of their own coast, he stood over toward England, and the gale still rising, carried his fleet and prizes into Stoke's Bay, whence he and his colleagues in command wrote to inform the House of their success.

W. HEPWORTH DIXON

THE BATTLE OFF LOWESTOFT

1665

BEFORE the fleets of the two nations were prepared for sea, but after the war had actually broken out, Sir Thomas Allen, now raised to the rank of vice-admiral, cruising about the mouth of the straits with a squadron of eight or nine vessels, fell in with a Dutch fleet, coming home richly laden from Smyrna.

This fleet consisted of no less than forty merchant vessels, some of them very large, and well provided with ordnance, the whole under the convoy of four third-rate men-of-war. Notwithstanding the inferiority of his force, Allen attacked the enemy with so much vigour that he sank several of the ships, killed Brachel, the commander-in-chief, seized four of the richest prizes, one of which foundered at sea on her voyage to England, and drove the remainder into the Bay of Cadiz. Nor was this the only instance in which the Dutch had reason to repent their obstinacy, even before the great armaments came into collision; for in the preceding November the English fleet, hovering on the coast of Holland, met the homeward-bound Bordeaux fleet, and captured no less than 130 sail. Of these some proved to be French bottoms, and were discharged, but the rest were declared lawful prizes.

These losses compelled the Dutch, contrary to their usual practice, to lay an embargo on all vessels in their ports; by which their commerce and fisheries were

completely stopped for the season. They also released about fifty English and Scotch vessels, which had been seized in their harbours ; and when these vessels arrived in England the civility was returned by the restitution of all the Dutch vessels that had been detained here under similar circumstances. The object of this proceeding was to show that there ought to be some difference between the wars of trading nations and those that are entered into by arbitrary princes in the mere lust of ambition.

The English fleet sailed for the Dutch coast on the 21st of April. It was composed of 114 men-of-war and frigates, twenty-eight fireships and ketches, and about 21,000 soldiers and seamen. It was divided into three squadrons ; the first, under the red flag, commanded by the Duke of York, assisted by Penn and Lawson ; the second, or white squadron, commanded by Prince Rupert, assisted by Monson and Sampson ; and the third, or blue squadron, commanded by the Earl of Sandwich, assisted by Cuttins and Ascough. The Dutch fleet, although the first to arm, was not yet ready to put to sea, and the Duke of York, arriving at the Texel on the 28th, continued to cruise there for nearly a month, to the great alarm of the country, for the purpose of preventing a junction between the fleets of Holland and Zealand. During this interval he took several homeward-bound vessels, but was at last so disabled by a storm that he was obliged to retire toward the English shore.

The Dutch took prompt advantage of this circumstance, and by the latter end of May their ships appeared about the Dogger sands. Accounts differ slightly as to the actual strength of this powerful armament, but there is sufficient agreement to justify the following estimate. The whole force, consisting of upwards of one hundred men-of-war, besides fireships and yachts, carrying 4,869

guns, and upwards of 22,000 men, was divided into seven squadrons; the first commanded by Admiral Baron Opdam; the second by Evertsen, vice-admiral of Zealand; the third by Cortenaer, vice-admiral of Maese; the fourth by Stillingwerth; the fifth by Van Tromp, the son of the famous old admiral; the sixth by Cornelius Everts; and the seventh by Schram.

The movements of this fleet opened with an adventure which greatly exasperated the English, and raised the already blustering spirits of the Dutch. The English Hamburg fleet, consisting of nine merchant vessels, with their convoy, was expected home at this time, and the Dutch detached a squadron to their own coast to lie in wait for its arrival. The fleet, supposing that the Duke was still on the coast, came up at this inauspicious moment, and fell into the hands of the enemy. The loss sustained by our merchants on this occasion was computed at between two and three hundred thousand pounds; but no blame could be attached to any party, although there were loud murmurs about bad management, as there always will be in such matters. The Duke of York had taken all the precautions in his power, by sending a ketch to inform the fleet of his departure from the Dutch coast; but the ketch missed the convoy at sea, and the catastrophe was thus inevitable.

The Duke of York is said to have been averse to this war; and the delay that had taken place since he embarked increased his disrelish for it.

Such were the private distrusting and conflicting sentiments. On the other side, Baron Opdam's own opinion and that of his officers was against hazarding an engagement so soon; but he resolved to obey his orders. Addressing the council of war, he exclaimed. "I am entirely in your sentiments; but here are my orders: to-morrow my head shall be bound with laurel

or with cypress." His forebodings of the issue were so discouraging, that, before the engagement, he sent his plate ashore; and with these feelings he prepared for battle.

Having previously lost sight of the English, by retiring upon the Maese, he weighed anchor at once, in obedience to his instructions, to go in search of them; but they saved him the trouble. They were already out at sea, and he came up with them after an hour's sail, about the turn of the morning of the 3rd of June. At three o'clock the engagement commenced, the Dutch admiral bearing down directly on the Duke, with the intention of boarding him. In the beginning the English had the advantage of the weather gage, and the two fleets several times "charged through each other" with great fury and intrepidity, which has been accounted a mistake on the part of the English, who, having the wind in their favour, ought to have contented themselves with simply meeting the encounter of the enemy. For nine hours the carnage continued without much apparent advantage on either side, till about one o'clock at noon, when the Earl of Sandwich, with his blue squadron, broke through the enemy's centre, separating the fleet into two parts, and throwing the whole into a state of general confusion.

Opdam, all this while, had never forsaken his resolution to board the English admiral, and in the midst of the consternation which ensued upon the gallant action of the Earl of Sandwich, the Duke of York, in the *Royal Charles*, a ship of eighty guns, was engaged in close fight with the Dutch admiral, in the *Endracht*, of eight-four guns. The collision was so close that the Dutch writers assert that the *Endracht* actually boarded the *Royal Charles*, admitting, however, that the valiant resistance they met with obliged them to retire. The Duke of York was in imminent peril during this engagement.

The Earl of Falmouth, Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, second son of the Earl of Burlington, and several of his Grace's footmen, were killed by his side by a chain-shot. The Duke was wounded in the hand by a fragment of Mr. Boyle's skull. In this terrible crisis, either by an accident within, or a grenado, or other shot from the Duke's vessel, the gun-room of the Dutch admiral took fire, and the ship was blown up, destroying in the conflagration at least 500 men, amongst whom were several volunteers of the best families in Holland. Thus perished poor Opdam, whose gloomy forebodings were realized under circumstances of more than ordinary horror.

The Dutch vice-admiral, perceiving the fate of his commander, made a desperate attempt to revenge him, and would have succeeded in boarding the *Royal Charles*, but for the intrepidity of Captain Smith, who, running his vessel between, boarded and burnt the Dutchman, taking prisoner the captain, who afterwards died of his wounds. The greatest confusion now prevailed amongst the vessels. Four Dutch vessels falling foul of each other, were burnt by a fireship, and three others soon afterwards suffered the same fate. The whole Dutch fleet seemed now to be but one blaze; and the cries of so many miserable wretches, who were perishing either by fire or water, were more frightful than the noise of the cannon. The victory was as complete as it was sanguinary, and the approach of night, under the shelter of which the remnant of the enemy endeavoured to escape, alone prevented the destruction of the entire armament.

The loss on the side of the Dutch was great. Vice-admiral Stillingwerth was shot by a cannon-ball through the middle, and Cortenaer received a shot in the thigh early in the engagement, of which he almost immediately

died. The English took eighteen of the largest ships, sank or burnt about fourteen more, took about 2,000 prisoners, and killed upwards of 4,000 men. On the other side the loss was comparatively slight in number, but it included some names of high rank and great promise in the service. Only one ship was taken, and the loss in men was about 250 killed and 340 wounded. Of the distinguished persons who were killed, the most conspicuous were the Earl of Falmouth, Lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, who fell beside the Duke of York; the Earls of Marlborough and Portland, rear-admiral Sampson, and Sir John Lawson.

The fight had lasted, without intermission, from three o'clock in the morning until seven o'clock in the evening; and as night advanced most of the Dutch ships, thinking of nothing but how to escape, hoisted sails and endeavoured to make sail. Cornelius Van Tromp in vain attempted to stay their flight, holding out to the last, when the whole fleet had left him, except twelve vessels, and even then reluctantly abandoning the post of honour.

ROBERT SOUTHEY

THE BURIAL OF SIR CHRISTOPHER MYNGS

1665

INVITED to Sir Christopher Myngs' funeral, but find them gone to church. However, I into the church, which is a fair large church, and a great chapel, and there heard the service, and stayed till they buried him, and then out; and there met with Sir W. Coventry, who was there out of great generosity, and no person of quality there but he, and went with him into his coach; and, being in it with him, there happened this extraordinary case—one of the most romantic that ever I heard of in my life, and could not have believed, but that I did see it; which was this:—About a dozen able, lusty, proper men come to the coach-side with tears in their eyes, and one of them that spoke for the rest began, and said to Sir W. Coventry, “We are here a dozen of us, that have long known and loved and served our dead commander, Sir Christopher Myngs, and have now done the last office of laying him in the ground. We would be glad we had any other to offer after him, and in revenge of him. All we have is our lives; if you will please to get his Royal Highness to give us a fire-ship among us all, here are a dozen of us, out of all which choose you one to be commander; and the rest of us, whoever he is, will serve him; and, if possible, do that which shall show our memory of our dead commander, and our revenge.” Sir W.

Coventry was herewith much moved, as well as I, who could hardly abstain from weeping, and took their names, and so parted, telling me that he would move his Royal Highness as a thing very extraordinary, which was done. The truth is, Sir Christopher Myngs was a very stout man, and a man of great parts and most excellent tongue among ordinary men; and, as Sir W. Coventry says, could have been the most useful man at such a pinch of time as this. He was come into great renown here at home, and more abroad, in the West Indies. He had brought his family into a way of being great; but, dying at this time, his memory and name, his father being always, and at this day, a shoemaker, and his mother a hoyman's daughter, of which he was used frequently to boast, will be quite forgot in a few months as if he had never been, nor any of his name be the better by it; he having not had time to will any estate, but is dead poor rather than rich. So we left the church and crowd.

SAMUEL PEPYS

FROM ANNUS MIRABILIS

1666

Now on their coasts our conquering navy rides,
Waylays their merchants, and their land besets ;
Each day new wealth without their care provides ;
They lie asleep with prizes in their nets.

So close behind some promontory lie
The huge leviathans to attend their prey ;
And give no chase, but swallow in the fry,
Which through their gaping jaws mistake the way.

Nor was this all : in ports and roads remote,
Destructive fires among whole fleets we send ;
Triumphant flames upon the water float,
And outbound ships at home their voyage end.

Those various squadrons variously designed,
Each vessel freighted with a several load,
Each squadron waiting for a several wind,
All find but one, to burn them in the road.

Some bound for Guinea, golden sand to find,
Bore all the gauds the simple natives wear :
Some for the pride of Turkish courts designed,
For folded turbans finest Holland bear.

Some English wool vexed in a Belgian loom,
And into cloth of spongy softness made,
Did into France or colder Denmark doom,
To ruin with worse ware our staple trade.

Our greedy seamen rummage every hold,
Smile on the booty of each wealthier chest ;
And as the priests who with their gods make bold,
Take what they like, and sacrifice the rest.

JOHN DRYDEN

A TALK WITH MR. PEPYS

7th March 1689-90. I dined with Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, where was that excellent shipwright and seaman, Sir Anthony Deane. Amongst other discourse, and deploring the sad condition of our Navy, as now governed by unexperienced men since this Revolution, he mentioned what exceeding advantage we of this nation had by being the first who built frigates, the first of which ever built was that vessel which was afterwards called *The Constant Warwick*, and was the work of Pett of Chatham, for a trial of making a vessel that would sail swiftly ; it was built with low decks, the guns lying near the water, and was so light and swift of sailing, that in a short time he told us she had, ere the Dutch war was ended, taken as much money from privateers as would have laden her ; and that more such being built did in a year or two scour the Channel from those of Dunkirk and others which had exceedingly infested it. He added that it would be the best and only infallible expedient to be masters of the sea, and able to destroy the greatest navy of any enemy, if, instead of building huge ships and second and third rates, they would leave off building such high decks, which were for nothing but to gratify gentlemen commanders, who must have all their effeminate accommodations, and for pomp ; that it would be the ruin of our fleets if such persons were continued in command, they neither having experience nor being capable of learning, because they would not submit

to the fatigue and inconvenience which those who were bred seamen would undergo, in those so otherwise useful swift frigates. These, being to encounter the greatest ships, would be able to protect, set on and bring off, those who should manage the fireships; and the prince who should first store himself with numbers of such fireships would, through the help and countenance of such frigates, be able to ruin the greatest force of such vast ships as could be sent to sea, by the dexterity of working those light swift ships to guard the fireships. He concluded there would shortly be no other method of sea-fight, and that great ships and men-of-war, however stored with guns and men, must submit to those who should encounter them with far less number. He represented to us the dreadful effect of these fireships; that he continually observed in one late maritime war with the Dutch, that when an enemy's fireship approached, the most valiant commander and common sailors were in such consternation, that though then of all times there was most need of the guns, bombs, etc. to keep the mischief off, they grew pale and astonished, as if of a quite other mean soul; that they slunk about, forsook their guns and worked as if in despair, every one looking about to see which way they might get out of their ship, though sure to be drowned if they did so. This, he said, was likely to prove hereafter the method of sea-fight, likely to be the misfortune of England if they continued to put gentlemen commanders over experienced seamen, on account of their ignorance, effeminacy and insolence.

JOHN EVELYN

THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE

1692

MONSIEUR TOURVILLE, with the fleet, had orders to make up to the Channel, and to fight the English and Dutch, though he was not yet joined by the Toulon squadron under D'Estree. But when Tourville came there, he met with an entertainment which perhaps he did not dream of; the first intimation whereof we at London had in a letter from Admiral Russell to the Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State, wherein he said: That upon the 19th of May, by three of the clock in the morning, Cape Barfleur bearing S.W. and by S. seven leagues off, his scouts made the signal for seeing the enemy, the wind westerly. That by eleven the French bore down and engaged him at some distance, and both fleets continued fighting till half an hour past five in the evening, at which time the enemy towed away with all their boats, and the English after them. That about six there was a fresh engagement to the westward of him, which he supposed to be the Blue. That he could give no further account at present, but only that the French were beaten, and that they were steering away for Conquest road, having a fresh gale easterly, but extremely foggy.

But though it happened to be a calm all that night, and foggy the next morning, yet about eleven it beginning to clear up a little, they saw the French fleet about two leagues from them, very much lessened in their number, not seeming to be above thirty-six sail, after whom they made

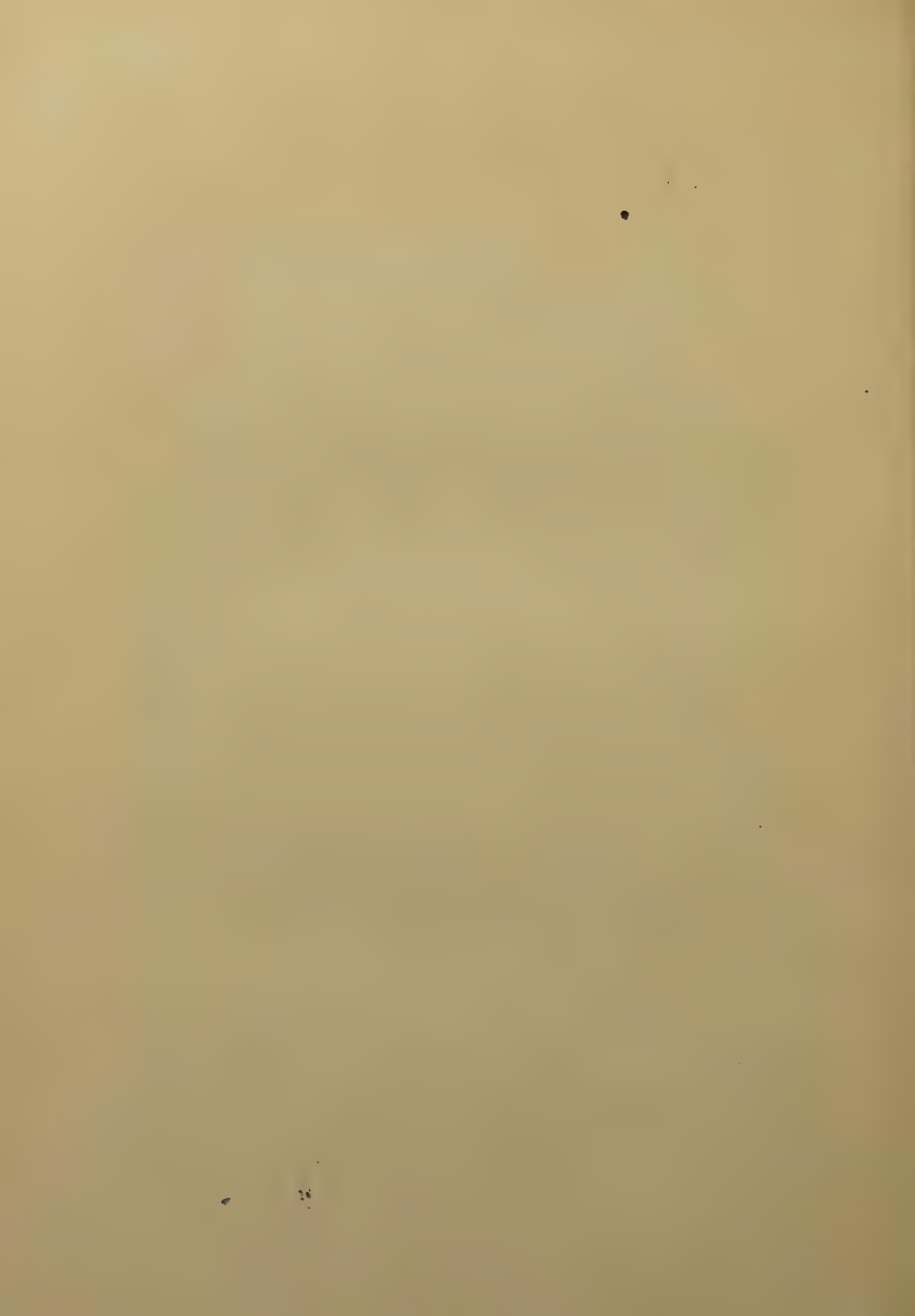
all the sail they could. But about ten it grew calm again, and about three the two fleets came to an anchor, but weighed about eleven at night, anchored next morning, sailed on the 21st again against the enemy, the Admiral steering towards Barfleur, and the Dutch and Blue Squadron towards the Race of Alderney, through which part of the French fleet escaped, the other thinking it not advisable to hazard the men-of-war in the pursuit of them through that dangerous road. But Sir Ralph Delaval, Vice-Admiral of the Red, had better success, for he on the 21st of May burnt under Cape de Wick, near the shore, the *Royal Sun*, wherein was Count Tourville, Admiral of the French fleet, carrying 104 guns; the *Admirable*, 102; the *Conquerant*, 80, with three more of a lesser rate, while Admiral Russell himself was no less successful in pursuit of another part of the French, who hauled in for La Hogue, in which bay he anchored the 21st, and next day stood in so far as that he saw thirteen ships hauled in close with the shore.

Whereupon on the 22nd he sent in Vice-Admiral Rooke with several men-of-war and fireships, with the boats of the fleet, to endeavour to destroy them. But the French had got their ships so very near land that not any of the men-of-war, except the small frigates, could do any service. However, that night six men-of-war were burnt, and the next day the other seven, besides several transport-ships, whereof six were three-decked ships, and the other carrying from sixty to seventy guns, only one had but fifty-six, and that ship was upset and utterly lost.

The attempt was very difficult and dangerous, but it was made with such conduct and resolution, and the seamen in their boats behaved themselves so bravely, that they took possession of several of the enemy's ships, and drove the French with their own guns from their



THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE.



platforms on the shore. This action was so much the more glorious as well as advantageous to the English, since it was done in the sight of the French and Irish camp, ready to invade us.

(From a Contemporary Account.)

THE CAPTURE OF GIBRALTAR

1704

IN the year 1704 Sir George Rooke, who had been sent into the Mediterranean with a large fleet to assist Charles, Archduke of Austria, in recovering the Crown of Spain, finding nothing of importance to be done, called a council of war on the 17th July, 1704, near Tetuan, where, after several schemes were proposed (such as a second attack on Cadiz) and rejected, it was resolved to attempt the conquest of Gibraltar.

On the 21st July, the fleet arrived in the bay ; 1,800 English and Dutch were landed on the isthmus, under the command of the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt ; the Governor was summoned to surrender, and on his refusal a cannonade was opened on the town by the ships, under the orders of Admirals Byng and Vanderdussen ; in five or six hours the enemy were driven from their guns, especially from the New Molehead, which the admiral wishing to possess himself of, ordered Captain Whitaker, with the armed boats, ashore ; Captains Hicks and Jumber, however, first pushed ashore in their pinnaces, upon which the Spaniards blew up the fortifications, killing two lieutenants and 40 men, and wounding 60. Notwithstanding this slaughter, the British kept possession of their ground, and being now joined by Captain Whitaker, advanced and took possession of a small bastion, half way between the mole and the town.

The Governor (the Marquis de Saluces) being again summoned, thought it prudent to capitulate, for although the works were strong, mounting 100 pieces of cannon, well appointed with ammunition and stores, yet the garrison consisted of but 150 men, exclusive of the inhabitants; hostages were therefore exchanged, and on the 24th July, 1704, the Prince of Hesse took possession of the gates of Gibraltar, after a loss on the side of the British,—*killed*, two lieutenants, one master, and 57 sailors; and in *wounded*, one captain, seven lieutenants, one boatswain, and 207 sailors.

Gibraltar has ever since continued in the hands of the English; not, however, without frequent attempts of their enemies to wrest it from them.

KNIGHT'S VOYAGE TO THE NORTH- WEST

1719

And now there came both mist and snow,
And it grew wondrous cold :
And ice, mast-high, came floating by,
As green as emerald.

And through the drifts the snowy clifts
Did send a dismal sheen :
Nor shapes of men nor beasts we ken—
The ice was all between.

The ice was here, the ice was there,
The ice was all around :
It cracked and growled, and roared and howled,
Like noises in a swound.

The Ancient Mariner.

OF the unfortunate voyage, undertaken by Knight, Barlow and Vaughan, very little was ever collected, as the two ships sent out upon it were lost and the whole of their crews perished. Mr. Knight, with whom it originated, had been long in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and was ultimately appointed Governor of the factory established on Nelson's River. In his communications with the native Indians he had learned that at some distance to the northward, and on the banks of a navigable river or inlet, into which vessels might go from the bay, there was a rich mine of native copper.

On the strength of this information he came over to England to solicit the Company to fit out two vessels, and send them, under his command, to discover this rich mine ; but the Company, for certain reasons which were construed unfavourably to the liberal views of the directors, refused to comply with the proposal of their Governor. Knight, however, did not give up his point. He plainly told them that they were obliged by their charter to make discoveries, as well as to extend their trade ; that they were particularly required to search for a north-west passage through the Straits of Anian to the South Sea ; and that if they still refused to send him and Barlow on a voyage of discovery, he should lay his application before the Ministers of the Crown ; and for this purpose he actually waited on one of the Secretaries of State.

When the Company perceived him thus resolutely bent on his project, and that his "troublesome zeal," as Robson calls it, "might actually bring on an inquiry into the legality of their charter, they thought it necessary to comply, and fitted out a ship and sloop called the *Albany* and the *Discovery*, the former commanded by Captain George Barlow and the other by Captain David Vaughan ; Mr. Knight being, however, entrusted with the direction of the expedition. Perhaps they had less scruple in sending Knight as, by Robson's account, he must have been nearly eighty years of age when he undertook this voyage, of the success of which he was so confident that he had strong chests made, bound with iron, to hold the gold and copper which he expected to find. This was probably the single object that occupied the mind of Knight ; the north-west passage and the Straits of Anian were thrown out with no other view than to urge the Company, and to point out to them the necessity to do something which might wear the appearance at least of satisfying the conditions of their charter.

Knight is accordingly, by his instructions, directed "to depart from Gravesend on the intended voyage, by God's permission to find out the Straits of Anian, in order to discover gold and other valuable commodities to the northward." As neither of these ships ever returned or was heard of, it was concluded that they had been lost among the ice, or shut up in some creek or strait from which they had no means of returning; and as the Hudson's Bay Company had sent out these two vessels, they could not do otherwise than dispatch another to look for the unfortunate crews. The *Whalebone* was accordingly ordered to proceed on this service. The person appointed to command her was John Scroggs, of whose proceedings nothing was ever published, except a brief abstract procured by Mr. Arthur Dobbs. From this account we learn that he sailed from Churchill River on the 22nd of June, 1722. In latitude 62° he had communication with the natives and traded with them. In $64^{\circ} 56'$ he came to an anchor within three leagues of the north shore, to the projecting headland of which he gave the name of Whalebone Point. Here he saw many black whales in the water, and several deer on the land. "He had two northern Indians with him who had wintered at Churchill, and told him of a rich copper mine somewhere in that country, upon the shore near the surface of the earth, and they could direct the sloop so near it as to lay her side to it, and be soon loaded with it; they had brought some pieces of copper from it to Churchill, that made it evident there was a mine thereabouts. They had sketched out the country with charcoal upon a skin of parchment before they left Churchill, and so far as they went it agreed very well."

In latitude $64^{\circ} 8'$, being then in the *Welcome*, he saw many whales, but no ice. The land from Whalebone Point fell off to the southward of west, and the men who

went on shore said they perceived nothing to prevent their going farther ; their soundings here were from 40 to 60 fathoms. Captain Norton, late Governor of Churchill, who was then with Scroggs, confirmed all that the latter had stated ; said that the tide rose thirty feet ; that being on shore at the top of a mountain he saw the land fall away to the southward of west, and nothing to prevent their going farther.

In this account there is not a syllable mentioned of any search being made for the unfortunate crews of the two ships ; not a single inquiry whether they might be living, or be destroyed by the natives, or have perished from cold or hunger. Many persons, indeed, were sanguine enough to conjecture that Knight and Barlow had discovered the north-west passage, and had proceeded through it into the South Sea to return by the way of Cape Horn ; but two years having expired put an end to these delusive hopes : and it was not before the year 1767 that the most unequivocal proofs were discovered of the melancholy fate of these adventurers, and of the whole of their party.

In that year, as some of the boats employed on the Company's whale fishery, near Marble Island, stood in close to the shore, they discovered a new and commodious harbour near the east end of it, at the head of which were found guns, anchors, cables, bricks, a smith's anvil, and several other articles, which, from their weight or uselessness, had not been removed from their original place by the natives. The remains of a house, and the hulls or rather bottoms of the two ships were also discovered under water ; and some of their guns and the figurehead of one of the ships were sent home to England. The following account, given by Hearne, points out the misery to which these poor people must have been reduced on this desolate island.

“ In the summer of 1769, while we were prosecuting

the fishery, we saw several Esquimaux at this new harbour, and perceiving one or two of them greatly advanced in years, our curiosity was excited to ask them some questions concerning the above ship and sloop, which we were the better enabled to do by the assistance of an Esquimaux, who was then in the Company's service as a linguist and annually sailed in one of their vessels in that character. The account which we received from them was full, clear and unreserved, and the sum of it was to the following purport :

“ When the vessels arrived at this place (Marble Island) it was very late in the fall, and, in getting them into the harbour, the largest received much damage ; but on being fairly in, the English began to build the house, their number at that time seeming to be about fifty. As soon as the ice permitted, in the following summer, 1720, the Esquimaux paid them another visit, by which time the number of the English was very greatly reduced, and those that were living seemed very unhealthy. According to the account given by the Esquimaux, they were then very busily employed, but about what they could not easily describe ; probably in lengthening the long-boat, for, at a little distance from the house, there was now lying a great quantity of oak chips, which had been made most assuredly by carpenters.

“ A sickness and famine occasioned such havoc among the English that, by the setting in of the second winter, their number was reduced to twenty. That winter, 1720, some of the Esquimaux took up their abode on the opposite side of the harbour to that on which the English had built their houses, and frequently supplied them with such provisions as they had, which chiefly consisted of whale's blubber, and seal's flesh and train oil. When the spring advanced, the Esquimaux went to the continent, and on their visiting Marble Island again, in the

summer of 1721, they found only five of the English alive; and those were in such distress for provisions, that they eagerly ate the seal's flesh and whale's blubber quite raw as they purchased it from the natives. This disordered them so much that three of them died in a few days, and the other two, though very weak, made a shift to bury them. Those two survived many days after the rest, and frequently went to the top of an adjacent rock and earnestly looked to the south and east, as if in expectation of some vessels coming to their relief. After continuing there a considerable time together, and nothing appearing in sight, they sat down close together and wept bitterly. At length one of the two died, and the other's strength was so far exhausted that he fell down and died also in attempting to dig a grave for his companion. The skulls and other large bones of these two men are now lying above ground close to the house. The longest liver was, according to the Esquimaux account, always employed in working iron into implements for them; probably he was the armourer or smith."

SIR JOHN BARROW

ANSON AND THE ACAPULCO GALLEON

1743

It was the last of May when the *Centurion* arrived off Cape Espiritu Santo ; and consequently the next day the month began in which the galleons were to be expected. The Commodore therefore made all necessary preparations for receiving them, hoisting out his long-boat, and lashing her alongside, that the ship might be ready for engaging if they fell in with the galleons during the night. All this time too he was very solicitous to keep at such a distance from the Cape as not to be discovered. But it hath been since learnt that, notwithstanding his care, he was seen from the land, and advice of him was sent to Manila, where the merchants were alarmed, and the Government was applied to, who undertook to fit out a force consisting of two ships of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns, and two sloops of ten guns each, to attack the *Centurion* on her station.

With this view some of these vessels actually weighed ; but the principal ship not being ready, and the monsoon being against them, the Commodore and the Governor disagreed, so that the enterprise was laid aside. This frequent discovery of the *Centurion* from the shore was somewhat extraordinary, since the pitch of the Cape is not high, and she usually kept from ten to fifteen leagues distant ; though once, indeed, by an indraught of the

tide, as was supposed, they found themselves in the morning within seven leagues of the land.

As the month of June advanced the expectancy and impatience of the Commodore's people each day increased. And I think no better idea can be given of their great eagerness on this occasion than by copying a few paragraphs from the journal of an officer who was then on board.

May 31. Exercising our men at their quarters, in great expectation of meeting with galleons very soon, this being the eleventh of June, their style.

June 3. Keeping in our stations, and looking out for the galleons.

June 5. Begin now to be in great expectation, this being the middle of June, their style.

June 11. Begin to grow impatient at not seeing the galleons.

June 13. The wind having blown fresh easterly for the forty-eight hours past, give us great expectations of seeing the galleons soon.

June 15. Cruising on and off, and looking out strictly.

June 19. This being the last day of June N.S. the galleons, if they arrive at all, must appear soon.

From these samples it is sufficiently evident how completely the treasure of the galleons had engrossed their imagination, and how anxiously they passed the latter part of their cruise.

However, on the 20th of June O. S., being just a month after gaining their station, they were relieved out of this state of uncertainty; for, at sunrise, they discovered a sail from the masthead, in the S.E. quarter. On this, a general joy spread through the ship; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galleons, and they expected soon to descry the other. The Commodore instantly stood towards her, and at half an hour after seven they

were near enough to see her from the *Centurion's* deck ; at which time the galleon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant sails : this was supposed to be a signal to her consort to hasten her up ; and therefore the *Centurion* fired a gun to leeward, to amuse her. The Commodore was surprised to find that during all this interval the galleon did not change her course, but continued to bear down upon him ; for he hardly believed, what afterwards appeared to be the case, that she knew his ship to be the *Centurion*, and resolved to fight him.

About noon the Commodore was little more than a league distant from the galleon, and could fetch her wake, so that she could not now escape ; and, no second ship appearing, it was concluded that she had been separated from her consort. Soon after, the galleon haled up her foresail, and brought to under top sails, with her head to the northward, hoisting Spanish colours, and having the standard of Spain flying at the top-gallant mast-head. Mr. Anson, in the meantime, had prepared all things for an engagement on board the *Centurion*, and had taken every possible measure, both for the most effectual exertion of his small strength, and for the avoiding the confusion and tumult too frequent in actions of this kind. He picked out about thirty of his choicest hands and best marksmen, whom he distributed into his tops, and who fully answered his expectation by the signal services they performed.

As he had not hands enough remaining to quarter a sufficient number to each great gun, in the customary manner, he therefore, on his lower tier, fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be solely employed in loading it, whilst the rest of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, who were continually moving about the decks, to run out and fire such guns as were loaded. By this management he was

enabled to make use of all his guns ; and instead of whole broadsides, with intervals between them, he kept up a constant fire without intermission ; whence he doubted not to procure very signal advantages. For it is common with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks when they see a broadside preparing, and to continue in that posture till it is given ; after which they rise again, and, presuming the danger to be for some time over, work their guns, and fire with great briskness, till another broadside is ready : but the firing gun by gun, in the manner directed by the Commodore, rendered this practice of theirs impossible.

The *Centurion* being thus prepared, and nearing the galleon apace, there happened, a little after noon, several squalls of wind and rain, which often obscured the galleon from their sight ; but whenever it cleared up, they observed her resolutely lying to. Towards one o'clock the *Centurion* hoisted her broad pendant and colours, she being then within gun-shot of the enemy ; and the Commodore perceiving the Spaniards to have neglected clearing the ship till that time, as he saw them throwing overboard cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chase guns to disturb them in their work, and prevent them from completing it, though his general directions had been not to engage before they were within pistol-shot. The galleon returned the fire with two of her stern chase : and the *Centurion* getting her sprit-sail yard fore and aft, that, if necessary, she might be ready for boarding ; the Spaniards, in a bravado, rigged their sprit-sail yard fore and aft likewise.

Soon after, the *Centurion* came abreast of the enemy, within pistol-shot, keeping to the leeward of them, with a view of preventing their putting before the wind, and gaining the port of Jalapay, from which they were seven leagues distant. And now the engagement began in

earnest, and for the first half hour Mr. Anson over-reached the galleon, and lay on her bow, where, by the great wideness of his ports, he could traverse almost all his guns upon the enemy, whilst the galleon could only bring a part of hers to bear.

Immediately on the commencement of the action, the mats with which the galleon had stuffed her netting took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen-top. This accident, supposed to be caused by the *Centurion's* wads, threw the enemy into the utmost terror, and also alarmed the Commodore; for he feared lest the galleon should be burnt, and lest he himself too might suffer by her driving on board him. However, the Spaniards at last freed themselves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole mass, which was in flames, into the sea. All this interval the *Centurion* kept her first advantageous position, firing her cannon with great regularity and briskness; whilst at the same time the galleon's decks lay open to her top-men, who, having at their first volley driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havoc with their small arms, killing or wounding every officer but one that appeared on the quarter-deck, and wounding in particular the General of the galleon himself.

Thus the action proceeded for at least half an hour; but then the *Centurion* lost the superiority arising from her original situation, and was close alongside the galleon, and the enemy continued to fire briskly for near an hour longer; yet even in this posture the Commodore's grape-shot swept their decks so effectually, and the number of their slain and wounded became so considerable, that they began to fall into great disorder, especially as the General, who was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himself. Their confusion was visible from on board the *Centurion*. For the ships were so



THE "CENTURION" AND THE ACAPULCO GALLEON.

near that some of the Spanish officers were seen running about with much assiduity, to prevent the desertion of their men from their quarters : but all their endeavours were in vain ; for after having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns with more judgment than usual, they yielded the contest ; and, the galleon's colours being singed off, the ensign-staff in the beginning of the engagement, she struck the standard at her main-top-gallant masthead ; the person who was employed to perform this office, having been in imminent peril of being killed, had not the Commodore, who perceived what he was about, given express orders to his people to desist from firing.

Thus was the *Centurion* possessed of this rich prize, amounting in value to near a million and a half of dollars. She was called the *Nostra Signora de Cabadonga*, and was commanded by General Don Jeronimo de Mentero, a Portuguese, who was the most approved officer for skill and courage of any employed in that service. The galleon was much larger than the *Centurion*, and had five hundred and fifty men, and thirty-six guns mounted for action, besides twenty-eight pedreroes in her gun-wale, quarters, and tops, each of which carried a four-pound ball. She was very well furnished with small arms, and was particularly provided against boarding, both by her close quarters, and by a strong net-work of two-inch rope, which was laced over her waist, and was defended by half pikes. She had sixty-seven killed in the action, and eighty-four wounded, whilst the *Centurion* had only two killed, and a lieutenant and sixteen wounded, all of whom but one recovered : of so little consequence are the most destructive arms in untutored and unpractised hands.

GEORGE WALKER THE PRIVATEER

1745

George Walker was a famous privateer and merchant trader. He served first in the Dutch Navy in the Levant, and afterwards traded and commanded privateering expeditions on the American and French coasts. He died in 1777. An account of his voyages was published in 1762, and of it Prof. Laughton says: "From the quaint simplicity of its style, the life-like character of its portraits, the rollicking, reckless nature of the adventures it describes, it may compare not unfavourably with some of the most admired romances of Defoe."

THE *Boscawen* being ready for the sea, Mr. Walker chose not to wait either for the *Mars* or *Dartmouth*; and accordingly on April the 19th, 1745, we sailed from Dartmouth, perhaps the most complete privateer ever sent from England.

Among the several amendments and alterations contrived in her by Mr. Walker, was an entire new construction of our quarters; as they were here raised with elm in the place of nettings, man high and small-shot proof, with a step below for the marines to mount on and fire, and then stand off again to load. By this means the ship was always ready for an engagement, and could not be surprised.

May the 23rd, in the evening, we fell in with the *Sheerness*, private ship of war, Captain Parnell, of twenty-two guns; who kept us company for the night. By break of day the next morning in latitude $46^{\circ} 47'$, longi-

tude $14^{\circ} 50'$ west from the Lizard, we made eight sail of ships, to which we gave chase ; and we, going much better than the *Sheerness*, left her so far behind that she could not so much as come up to us, or be of any assistance during the ensuing action. About nine o'clock the enemy formed a line, and waited our coming up ; we then, drawing nearer, saw they were all ships of force : and though on our side everything was prepared for engaging, yet I believe, not a man in the ship thought of coming to one, the *Sheerness* being quite astern.

Mr. Walker then, perhaps perceiving some suspense among his officers, as waiting his determination, delivered himself to us nearly in these words : " Gentlemen, I hope you do not think the number of prizes before us too many. Be assured by their being armed they have something on board them worth defending : for I take them to be merchantmen with letters of marque, and homeward bound ; without doubt we shall meet with some opposition ; in which I have not the least doubt of your courage : but I see we must here conquer also by a mastership of skill. Be cool, and recollect every man his best senses : for as we shall be pressed on all sides, let every man do his best in engaging the enemy he sees before him ; and then one side need not fear or take thought for the other. In a word, gentlemen, if you give me your voices for my leading you on, I pawn my life to you, I will bring you off victorious." Being seconded by a spirit of approbation throughout the whole ship, which could not but elevate his own courage, he then made the proper disposition of his officers, giving them strict orders " that, let them receive what fire they might from the other ships, they should not fire a single gun till he gave the word." So bore up directly to the larger ship of the enemy (which, by her throwing out signals to the others, he judged to be the commodore), well knowing

that nothing promised him success so much as attacking close.

I forgot to mention that, notwithstanding the shortness of the time since we left England, we had upwards of sixty of our men on the sick list. These, all except three, crawled up upon deck, and though of little service, yet would they at least behold the action.

As we were coming up to the enemy, with all our sails set, the whole number of ships kept firing their stern-chases at us ; by which we lost our mizen-top mast, and had our rigging much shattered. When we came up to the sternmost ship, we received her broadside and those of the two ships next her, as we passed them, without returning a single gun, making up to the commodore in the centre. And now about eleven o'clock getting close to him we began the engagement, pouring our broadside full into him. This was as fully returned, he having a stout ship of twenty-four guns : they then broke their line of battle, and attacked us, two on each side, and one athwart our forefoot.

The sternmost ship of the line, *La Victoire*, which was the smallest, of ten guns, also came under our stern, and poured her broadside into us by way of raking us ; but being injured by our stern guns, she ran out of our reach, and struck. Thus was the engagement carried on by five ships only, the two which were most ahead going off, and in this situation was continued against us for a full hour, firing our broadsides, from each side at once, upon the two on each quarter, and they theirs as warmly into us ; our bow-chase also keeping the one athwart our forefoot in good play ; we also kept a perpetual firing of our small arms.

Yet was this engagement, in which several accidents happened to us, chiefly in our rigging, sustained on our part without confusion or any disorder, throughout the

whole. Every man went on with his own business, in his own department; and the word of command was observed, with a regularity almost inconceivable, through the disposition first made by Mr. Walker, in fixing every man to his proper station, with distinct orders to each part of the ship. Not was there one man or officer behaved amiss either in courage or obeying commands; nor indeed did any one seem to excel another in either; the whole appearing rather a business conducted than an accident of fighting.

In about three quarters of an hour from our first engaging we perceived the commodore's ship greatly disabled, for we planted out greatest fire against him, all his masts and rigging being entirely carried away; at length his ship having received several shots underwater, he fell back from under our cannon, and struck. The engagement was still continued by the rest. In less than ten minutes after striking, the ship went down.

Here was a new scene, of persons floating in the sea on various parts of the wreck, which they, who could attain, thought themselves happiest in distress, as fortunate to lay hold of: this a while suspended the fight. We then, and then only, were in a hurry to hasten our assistance of the barge: for the boats were entirely shot away: but we were soon convinced it was out of our power, so soon to commence friends; for the four other ships seeing our ship also so much hurt in her rigging, it being almost torn to pieces, renewed their attack with greater fury: so that we were obliged to return to business; whilst the poor floaters in the sea were otherwise unassisted, except only by the boat of the *La Victoire*; which was immediately hoisted out to them, and took up about twenty-six of the people, saved on the loose yards and other pieces of the wreck.

This new attack lasted very hot on both sides for nearly

half an hour, the one making the onset, as the last effort for their liberty ; and we knowing, if we stood the shock, our victory would be acknowledged complete. At last one of the ships, being totally disabled, struck ; and then the rest followed, as fast as they could, one after another, all in shattered plight, each of them having behaved with great courage and equal resolution.

By this time the *Sheerness* came up, and seeing the work over, judiciously went in pursuit of the other two ships, who first made sail at the beginning of the engagement ; one of which she took and brought back ; the other got off.

The ships which struck to us, besides the one taken by the *Sheerness*, were, as we at first supposed, all homeward bound Martinico men, each having a letter of marque, and being a ship of force. They were six in all, with a total complement of 98 guns and 330 men.

The enemy had 113 men killed and lost ; 58 of whom were on board the Commodore, and 55 among the other ships. On our side was but one man killed, and seven wounded ; apparently owing to the new construction of our quarters, as spoken of before. However, we and the whole fleet were so disabled, that we were obliged to lie to, for forty-eight hours, before we could make any sail upon our ship or those of the enemy. And now we had but few or none sick men, they having been roused in the course of the action into health ; which proves, what I have before occasionally observed, the great power the spirits have in cures of the body.

From " The Voyages of George Walker," 1760

THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN COOK

1779

TOWARDS the evening of the 13th, the officer who commanded the watering party of the *Discovery* came to inform me that several chiefs had assembled at the well near the beach, driving away the natives, whom he had hired to assist the sailors in rolling the casks to the shore. He told me at the same time that he thought their behaviour extremely suspicious, and that they meant to cause a disturbance. At his request, therefore, I sent a marine along with him, but suffered him to take only his side-arms. In a short time the officer returned, and, on his acquainting me that the islanders had armed themselves with stones, and were grown very tumultuous, I went myself to the spot, attended by a marine with his musket. Seeing us approach, they threw away the stones, and on my speaking to some of the chiefs, the mob were driven away, and those who chose it were suffered to assist in filling the casks.

Having left things quiet here, I went to meet Captain Cook, whom I saw coming on shore in the pinnace. I related to him what had just passed, and he ordered me, in case of their beginning to throw stones or behave insolently, immediately to fire a ball at the offenders. I accordingly gave orders to the corporal to have the pieces of the sentinels loaded with ball, instead of small shot.

Soon after our return to the tents we were alarmed by

a continued fire of muskets from the *Discovery*, which we observed to be directed at a canoe that we saw paddling toward the shore in great haste, pursued by one of our small boats. We immediately concluded that the firing was in consequence of some theft, and Captain Cook ordered me to follow him with an armed marine, and to endeavour to seize the people as they came on shore. Accordingly we ran toward the place where we supposed the canoe would land, but were too late, the people having quitted it and made their escape into the country before our arrival. We were at this time ignorant that the goods had been already restored, and as we thought it probable, from the circumstance we had at first observed, that they might be of importance, were unwilling to relinquish our hopes of recovering them. Having therefore inquired of the natives which way the people had fled, we followed them till it was near dark, when, judging ourselves to be about three miles from the tents, and suspecting that the natives who frequently encouraged us in the pursuit, were amusing us with false information, we thought it in vain to continue our search any longer, and returned to the beach.

During our absence a difference of a more serious and unpleasant nature had happened. The officer who had been sent in the small boat, and was returning on board with the goods which had been restored, observing Captain Cook and me engaged in the pursuit of the offenders, thought it his duty to seize the canoe which was left drawn up on the shore. Unfortunately this canoe belonged to Pareea, who, arriving at the same moment from on board the *Discovery*, claimed his property, with many protestations of his innocence. The officer refusing to give it up, and being joined by the crew of the pinnace, which was waiting for Captain Cook, a scuffle

ensued, in which Pareea was knocked down by a violent blow on the head with an oar. The natives who were collected about the spot, and had hitherto been peaceable spectators, immediately attacked our people with such a shower of stones as forced them to retreat with great precipitation and swim off to a rock at some distance from the shore.

The pinnacle was immediately ransacked by the islanders, and but for the timely interposition of Pareea, who seemed to have recovered from the blow and forgotten it at the same instant, would soon have been entirely demolished. Having driven away the crowd, he made signs to our people that they might come and take possession of the pinnacle, and that he would endeavour to get back the things which had been taken out of it. After their departure he followed them in his canoe, with a midshipman's cap and some other trifling articles of the plunder, and with much apparent concern at what had happened, asked if the Orono would kill him, and whether he would permit him to come on board the next day. On being assured that he would be well received, he joined noses (as their custom is) with the officers, in token of friendship, and paddled over to the village of Kowrowa.

When Captain Cook was informed of what had passed he expressed much uneasiness at it, and said, as we were returning on board, "I am afraid that these people will oblige me to use some violent measures; for they must not be left to imagine that they have gained an advantage over us." However, as it was too late to take any steps this evening, he contented himself with giving orders that every man and woman on board should be immediately turned out of the ship. As soon as this order was executed I returned on shore; and our former confidence in the natives being now much abated by the

events of the day, I posted a double guard on the morai, with orders to call me if they saw any men lurking about the beach.

At about eleven o'clock five islanders were observed creeping round the bottom of the morai; they seemed very cautious in approaching us, and, at last, finding themselves discovered, retired out of sight. About midnight one of them venturing up close to the observatory, the sentinel fired over him, on which the man fled, and we passed the remainder of the night without further disturbance. Next morning at daylight I went on board the *Resolution* for the timekeeper, and on my way was hailed by the *Discovery*, and informed that their cutter had been stolen during the night from the buoy where it was moored.

When I arrived on board I found the marines arming, and Captain Cook loading his double-barrelled gun. Whilst I was relating to him what had happened to us in the night he interrupted me with some eagerness, and acquainted me with the loss of the *Discovery's* cutter, and with the preparations he was making for its recovery. It had been his usual practice, whenever anything of consequence was lost at any of the islands of this ocean, to get the king, or some of the principal erees, on board, and to keep them as hostages till it was restored. This method, which had been always attended with success, he meant to pursue on the present occasion; and at the same time had given orders to stop all the canoes that should attempt to leave the bay, with an intention of seizing and destroying them if he could not recover the cutter by peaceable means. Accordingly the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, were stationed across the bay, and before I left the ship some great guns had been fired at two large canoes that were attempting to escape.

It was between seven and eight o'clock when we quitted the ship together, Captain Cook in the pinnace, having Mr. Phillips and nine marines with him, and myself in the small boat. The last orders I received from him were to quiet the minds of the natives on our side of the bay, by assuring them they should not be hurt, to keep my people together, and to be on my guard. We then parted: the captain went towards Kowrowa, where the king resided, and I proceeded to the beach. My first care on going ashore was to give strict orders to the marines to remain within the tent, to load their pieces with ball, and not to quit their arms.

Afterwards I took a walk to the huts of old Kaoo and the priests, and explained to them, as well as I could, the hostile preparations, which had exceedingly alarmed them. I found that they had already heard of the cutter being stolen, and I assured them that though Captain Cook was resolved to recover it, and to punish the authors of the theft, yet that they, and the people of the village on our side, need not be under the smallest apprehension of suffering any evil from us. I desired the priests to explain this to the people and to tell them not to be alarmed, but to continue peaceable and quiet. Kaoo asked me, with great earnestness, if Terreeoboo was to be hurt. I assured him he was not, and both he and the rest of his brethren seemed much satisfied with this assurance.

In the meantime Captain Cook, having called off the launch, which was stationed at the north point of the bay, and taken it along with him, proceeded to Kowrowa, and landed with the lieutenant and nine marines. He immediately marched into the village, where he was received with the usual marks of respect, the people prostrating themselves before him, and bringing their accustomed offerings of small hogs. Finding that there

was no suspicion of his design, his next step was to inquire for Terreeoboo and the two boys, his sons, who had been his constant guests on board the *Resolution*. In a short time the boys returned, along with the natives who had been in search of them, and immediately led Captain Cook to the house where the king had slept, and after a short conversation with him about the loss of the cutter, from which Captain Cook was convinced that he was in no wise privy to it, he invited him to return in the boat and spend the day on board the *Resolution*. To this proposal the king readily assented, and immediately got up to accompany him.

Things were in this prosperous train, the two boys being already in the pinnace, and the rest of the party having advanced near the water-side, when an elderly woman called Kanee-Kabareea, the mother of the boys, and one of the king's favourite wives, came after him, and, with many tears and entreaties, besought him not to go on board. At the same time, two chiefs, who came along with her, laid hold of him and forced him to sit down. The natives, who were collecting in prodigious numbers along the shore, and had probably been alarmed by the firing of the great guns and the appearance of hostility in the bay, began to throng round Captain Cook and their king.

In this situation, the lieutenant of marines observing that his men were huddled close together in the crowd, and thus incapable of using their arms, if any occasion should require it, proposed to the captain to draw them up along the rocks close to the water's edge; and the crowd readily making way for them to pass, they were drawn up in a line, at the distance of about thirty yards from the place where the king was sitting. All this time the old king remained on the ground, with the strongest marks of terror and dejection in his countenance.

Captain Cook, not willing to abandon the object for which he had come on shore, continued to urge him in the most pressing manner to proceed ; whilst, on the other hand, whenever the king appeared inclined to follow him, the chiefs who stood round him interposed, at first with prayers and entreaties, but afterwards with force and violence, insisting on his staying where he was. Captain Cook, therefore, finding that the alarm had spread too generally, and that it was in vain to think any longer of getting the king off without bloodshed, at last gave up the point, observing to Mr. Phillips that it would be impossible to compel him to go on board without the risk of killing a great number of the inhabitants.

Though the enterprise which had carried Captain Cook on shore had now failed, and was abandoned, yet his person did not appear to have been in the least danger till an accident happened, which gave a fatal turn to the affair. The boats which had been stationed across the bay having fired at some canoes that were attempting to get out, unfortunately had killed a chief of the first rank. The news of his death arrived at the village where Captain Cook was, just as he had left the king, and was walking slowly toward the shore. The ferment it made was very conspicuous ; the women and children were immediately sent off, and the men put on their war-mats and armed themselves with spears and stones. One of the natives having in his hands a stone and a large iron spike, which they call a pahooa, came up to the captain, flourishing his weapon by way of defiance, and threatening to throw the stone. The captain desired him to desist, but the man persisting in his insolence, he was at length provoked to fire a load of small shot. The man having his mat on, which the shot were not able to penetrate, this had no other effect than to irritate and encourage them. Several stones were thrown at the marines, and one

of the erees attempted to stab Mr. Phillips with his pahooa, but failed in the attempt, and received from him a blow with the butt-end of his musket.

Captain Cook now fired his second barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the foremost of the natives. A general attack with stones immediately followed, which was answered by a discharge of musketry from the marines and the people in the boats. The islanders, contrary to the expectation of every one, stood the fire with great firmness, and before the marines had time to reload, they broke in upon them with dreadful shouts and yells. What followed was a scene of the utmost horror and confusion.

Four of the marines were cut off amongst the rocks in their retreat, and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy ; three more were dangerously wounded, and the lieutenant, who had received a stab between the shoulders with a pahooa, having fortunately reserved his fire, shot the man who had wounded him just as he was going to repeat his blow. Our unfortunate commander, the last time he was seen distinctly, was standing at the water's edge, and calling out to the boats to cease firing and to pull in. Whilst he faced the natives none of them had offered him any violence, but having turned about to give his orders to the boats he was stabbed in the back, and fell with his face into the water. On seeing him fall the islanders set up a great shout, and his body was immediately dragged on shore and surrounded by the enemy, who, snatching the dagger out of each other's hands, showed a savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction.

Thus fell our great and excellent commander ! After a life of so much distinguished and successful enterprise, his death, as far as regards himself, cannot be reckoned premature, since he lived to finish the great work for which he seemed to have been designed ; and was rather

removed from the enjoyment than cut off from the acquisition of glory. How sincerely his loss was felt and lamented by those who had so long found their general security in his skill and conduct, and every consolation under their hardships in his tenderness and humanity, it is neither necessary nor possible for me to describe ; much less shall I attempt to paint the horror with which we were struck, and the universal dejection and dismay which followed so dreadful and unexpected a calamity.

From "The Voyages of Captain Cook"

RODNEY DEFEATS DE GRASSE

1782

THE French fleet at this time assembled in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, consisted of thirty-three sail of the line, and two ships of fifty guns, and in this fleet were embarked a large body of troops, viz. 5,400 men, accompanied with a train of heavy cannon, and every other requisite for accomplishing the reduction of an island of such importance as Jamaica.

The design of the Comte de Grasse was to proceed with all the diligence in his power to Hispaniola, where he was to join the forces under the Spanish Admiral, and whose united strength would have been so superior as to have bid defiance to any exertions of the British Admiral, whose situation was now full of danger and intense anxiety. Not only did the preservation of Jamaica, and the other West Indian islands, depend upon the successful exertion of the fleet under his command, but the interest of the British Empire demanded that the enemy should be defeated, as nothing but the most complete and decisive victory could prevent the nation from falling into that degradation with which she was threatened. A most important crisis therefore was now approaching, and at no period of our history did there ever depend so much upon the issue of a naval combat.

I

On the morning of the 8th of April, a signal was made through a chain of frigates stationed between St. Lucie and Martinique, that the enemy's fleet had unmoored, and were proceeding to sea. Upon this the British fleet, at that moment in complete readiness, took up their anchors, and in little more than two hours were all under weigh, standing toward the enemy with all the sail they could crowd. It was the decided policy of the French commander not on any account to hazard a battle, the sole object of the expedition being that of joining a large sea and land force of the Spaniards then waiting at Cape François, in order to proceed against Jamaica with their joint armament, amounting to the overwhelming force of near 50 ships of the line, and 20,000 land troops.

This mighty and deep-laid scheme, so hostile to the best interests of the British nation, could not otherwise be disconcerted than by the discomfiture of the armament now rising in full view. In proportion to the momentousness of the object was the anxiety of our commander-in-chief to overtake and attack the enemies of his country ; and there has seldom occurred in the history of rival nations an occasion in which higher interests or a deeper stake in point of honour were to be contended for, than what presented itself at this moment. We gained so much upon them, that next morning the van and centre of our fleet, including the flagship, had got within cannon-shot of our enemy's rear, and a sharp cannonade ensued, which, however, proved partial and indecisive, from the falling of the wind, and from a great part of our fleet being becalmed under the high lands of Dominique. In the course of the next two days the enemy, by dint of great efforts, kept far to windward,

and would probably have made their escape had they not been brought down on the 11th to save one of their ships which had dropped to leeward, in consequence of being crippled by running foul of another ship in the night. By this casualty we had the inexpressible pleasure at day-break, on the 12th, to discover that we were in a situation to weather a large part of the enemy's fleet, which was now reduced to thirty ships, two having been so much damaged by the action of the 9th that they could not resume their place in the line, and one having been rendered inefficient by the accident above mentioned.

The line of battle was formed in an incredibly short time, the officers of the fleet having acquired the utmost experience in naval evolutions in the course of the two last years' practice on this station.

About half an hour before the engagement commenced, at breakfast on board of the *Formidable*, the company, consisting of the Admiral, Sir Charles Douglas, captain of the fleet (an officer whose functions nearly correspond with those of the adjutant-general of an army); Captain Simmons, commander of the ship; Lord Cranstoun, a volunteer post captain, the admiral's secretary, and myself, the conversation naturally turned on the glorious prospects of the day; and Lord Cranstoun remarked that if our fleet maintained its present relative position, steering the same course close hauled on the opposite tack to the enemy, we must necessarily pass through their line in running along, and closing with it in action.

The Admiral visibly caught the idea, and no doubt decided in his own mind at that moment to attempt a manœuvre at that time hitherto unpractised in naval tactics. It was accordingly practised by him with the most complete success, setting the illustrious example in the ship which bore his own flag; for the signal for close



BREAKING THE ENEMY'S LINE

action being thrown out, and adhered to in letter and spirit for about half an hour, and after taking and returning the fire of one half of the French force, under one general blaze and peal of thunder along both lines, the *Formidable* broke through that of the enemy. In the act of doing so, we passed within pistol-shot of the *Glorieux*, of seventy-four guns, shorn of all her masts, bowsprit, and ensign staff, but with the white flag nailed to the stump of one of the masts, breathing defiance as it were in her last moments. The contest was already at an end, for the enemy's fleet, being separated, fell into confusion, a total rout ensued, and victory was no longer doubtful.

In breaking the line, the *Formidable* passed so near the *Glorieux* that I could see the cannoniers throwing away their sponges and handspikes in order to save themselves by running below, while our guns were served with the utmost animation.

II

Immediately after cutting the French line, Sir George Rodney made the signal for the van to tack, and gain the wind of the enemy, which was accordingly done. The action during the rest of the day was partial and desultory, the enemy never being able to form, and several of the ships being obliged to lie by and repair their damages.

As the signal for the line was now hauled down, every ship annoyed the enemy as their respective commanders judged best, and the French struck their colours in succession. Though the victory was decided in the moment at which the *Formidable* broke the French line, the effect of it on the spirits of the fleet was not complete till the *Ville de Paris* struck her colours. The thrill of ecstasy that penetrated every British bosom in the triumphant moment of her surrender is not to be described.

The loss upon our side, in both days, has been two hundred and sixty-one killed, and eight hundred and thirty-seven wounded. One of the great advantages of the day was, that all our ships were pretty equally engaged, so that the enemy suffered more or less from each ship, and none of ours was totally disabled, the whole being so disposed that each was ready to second and take off the fire from the other. This indeed has, I believe, without dispute, been the most regular sea-fight, upon a great scale, that history records; and the steady invariable winds of this climate are particularly favourable to such a rencounter.

In the ensuing night we were not favoured with moonlight, as in the action with the Spanish fleet, two years before; so that, if the pursuit had been continued, our ships, in the darkness and confusion of the night, would have been in danger of firing into each other. Owing to this cause, as well as the want of repairs, the encumbrance of prizes, the calms which prevailed for some days afterwards, and the knowledge of a Spanish fleet to leeward, our fleet remained near the scene of action till the 17th, when Sir Samuel Hood was sent ahead with his division, and joined us to-day with the *Jason* and *Caton*, French ships of sixty-four guns, a frigate, and a sloop of war, which he took on the 20th. The two ships of the line had been disabled in the action of the 9th, and, after repairing at Guadaloupe, were proceeding to join the rest of the fleet to leeward, without knowing of their defeat.

The greater part of our fleet is proceeding to Jamaica, and we are now in sight of Hispaniola. The prizes are so disabled that all but one have been obliged to be taken in tow by our men-of-war, which renders our progress slow.

By this defeat of the enemy, all our colonies are in

safety for this season, for the French have drained their Caribbee islands of all the troops they can spare, to the number of 5,400, who were on board their ships of war, together with every implement for a great siege, and were certainly destined to act against Jamaica, in conjunction with a great sea and land force of the Spaniards, which arrived some weeks ago at St. Domingo, from the Havannah. Our victory, as well as our immediate presence at Jamaica, will effectually render this combined armament abortive.

After the surrender of the *Ville de Paris*, the Admiral sent Lord Cranstoun, one of the captains of the *Formidable*, on board of that ship, to beg the Comte de Grasse to remain there at his ease, if he chose. He came voluntarily on board the *Formidable* next morning, and remained there for two days, during which time I had a great deal of conversation with him and his officers.

He bears his reverse of fortune with equanimity, conscious, as he says, that he has done his duty, and I found him very affable and communicative. I told him that the people of England had begun to despair of the safety of Jamaica, fearing that he was to complete his career of success by taking it. He said he would have done so, had his Court kept their word, by sending him twelve ships of the line in November, as they promised. He attributes his misfortune, not to the inferiority of his force, but to the base desertion of his officers in the other ships, to whom he made the signal to rally, and even hailed them to abide by him, but was abandoned.

The fate of the *Caesar* has been truly pitiable. The night of the action, soon after dark, she took fire, by an English marine carrying a candle below in search of liquor, and a cask of spirits catching fire, the flames spread so fast, that they could not be extinguished. After burning for some time, till the fire reached the

powder magazine, the ship blew up—the second horrid spectacle of this kind to which I have been witness, having also seen the explosion of the *San Domingo*, a Spanish ship of the line, in the action off Cape St. Vincent, two years before. The French captain, who had been severely wounded, the English officer who boarded her, together with the greater part of the men on board, both British and French, perished. Some saved themselves before the explosion; others, who survived it, clinging to parts of the wreck, were most of them either overwhelmed in the waves, or miserably scorched with the flames; and those who attempted to save them relate, that they saw a spectacle too horrid to describe—the men who clung to a wreck torn off by the voracious sharks, which always swarm in these seas after an engagement, and were not yet glutted with the carnage of the preceding day.

We have endeavoured to form some conjectures of the loss of the enemy in men; and from the data we now have, we suppose there cannot be less than 14,000 taken, killed, and otherwise hors de combat. The ordinary complements of their ships are considerably greater than ours, and the troops with whom they were crowded at this time made the slaughter the greater. The *Ville de Paris* had on board in all about 1,300 men, and the other ships in proportion.

It was with difficulty we could make the French officers believe that the returns of killed and wounded, made by our ships to the Admiral, were true; and one of them flatly contradicted me, saying we always gave the world a false account of our loss. I then walked with him over the decks of the *Formidable*, and bid him remark what number of shot-holes there were, and also how little her rigging had suffered, and asked if that degree of damage was likely to be connected with the loss of more

than fourteen men, which was our number killed, and the greatest number of any in the fleet, except the *Royal Oak* and *Monarch*. He was visibly mortified to see how little our ship had suffered, and then owned that our fire must have been much better kept up, and directed, than theirs.

The Comte de Grasse said they were a hundred years behind us, and added, that were we not enemies, he should have been charmed with the superior discipline, neatness, and order, that prevailed in our ships of war.

G. B. MUNDY

ON THE LOSS OF THE *ROYAL GEORGE*

The *Royal George*, 108 guns, was lost off Spithead on August 29, 1782. She was undergoing some repairs and was careened over, when a sudden gust of wind overset her and she sank. A great number of persons were on board at the time from Portsmouth. Two or three hundred bodies floated on shore, and were buried in Kingston Churchyard.

TOLL for the brave !
The brave that are no more !
All sunk beneath the wave,
Fast by their native shore !

Eight hundred of the brave,
Whose courage well was tried,
Had made the vessel heel,
And laid her on her side.

A land breeze shook the shrouds,
And she was over-set ;
Down went the *Royal George*,
With all her crew complete.

Toll for the brave !
Brave Kempenfeldt is gone ;
His last sea-fight is fought ;
His work of glory done.

It was not in the battle ;
No tempest gave the shock ;
She sprang no fatal leak ;
She ran upon no rock.

His sword was in its sheath ;
His fingers held the pen,
When Kempenfeldt went down,
With twice four hundred men.

Weigh the vessel up,
Once dreaded by our foes !
And mingle with our cup
The tear that England owes.

Her timbers yet are sound,
And she may float again
Full charged with England's thunder,
And plough the distant main.

But Kempenfeldt is gone,
His victories are o'er ;
And he and his eight hundred
Shall plough the wave no more.

WILLIAM COWPER

THE GLORIOUS FIRST OF JUNE

1794

At daybreak on the 1st of June, latitude $47^{\circ} 48'$ north, longitude $18^{\circ} 30'$ west, the wind a moderate breeze from south by west, and the sea tolerably smooth, the French fleet, which, as wisely conjectured by Lord Howe, had carried a press of sail all night, was descried about six miles off, on the starboard or lee bow of the British fleet, and still steering in a line of battle upon the larboard tack.

At 5 a.m. the ships of the British fleet, by signal, bore up together and steered north-west, and at 6.15 a.m. north. At about 7.10 a.m. the fleet again hauled to the wind on the larboard tack. The French fleet was now plainly seen to consist of twenty-six line-of-battle ships, six frigates and corvettes; and the whole, except one or two, appeared complete in their masts and rigging.

At 7.16 a.m. Lord Howe signalled that he should attack the centre of the enemy, and at 7.35 a.m. that he should pass through the enemy's line, and engage to leeward. The two fleets being now about four miles apart, and the crews of the British ships, after the fatigue of sitting up three nights, needing some refreshment, Lord Howe hove to, and gave the men their breakfasts. This over, the British fleet, at 8.12 a.m., filled and bore down on the enemy. In a few minutes a signal was thrown out for each ship to steer for and independently engage the ship opposed to her in the enemy's line. In order that

the French three-deckers might be suitably opposed, several changes were made in the British line.

At 9.24 a.m. the French van opened a distant fire upon the British van, particularly upon the *Defence*, who was rather ahead of her line ; which line, only a quarter of an hour before, had been as perfect as it could well be formed, and had inspired the veteran chief with the most sanguine hopes of success in his plan, that of each ship cutting through the line astern of her proper opponent, and engaging her to leeward. After having hauled down the preparative flag from the signal to engage, Lord Howe emphatically shut his signal book, as if he considered that, for the present at least, it would no more be wanted. Not many minutes afterwards, however, he had to reopen it, to call upon the *Gibraltar*, *Culloden* (who had backed both fore and main topsails) and *Brunswick*, to make more sail, and soon had the mortification to observe the *Russell*, and, above all, his vanship, the *Caesar*, with their maintopsails aback, although neither was within gunshot of the enemy.

Lord Howe's attention was presently called to a more interesting subject. At 9.30 a.m. the *Queen Charlotte*, with the signal for close action at her masthead, steering a slanting course direct for the larboard quarter of the *Montague*, and being distant from her about a random shot, was cannonaded by the third ship in the French Admiral's rear, the *Vengeur*, a portion of whose fire was necessarily interrupted by the *Brunswick*, the latter having obeyed the signal to make more sail, and became, in consequence, farther advanced towards the enemy. Instead of returning the *Vengeur's* fire, the *Queen Charlotte*, desirous to be the first through the enemy's line, set topgallant sails and let fall her foresail. This presently carried her past the *Vengeur* and abreast of the next ship, the *Achille*, who now opened her

broadside. At 9.52 a.m. the *Queen Charlotte* returned this fire ; but, meaning it only as a mark to his principal object, a decisive attack upon the *Montague*, Lord Howe gave orders that only the guns upon the third and quarter-decks should be fired. The officers stationed at the first and second decks, however, hearing the firing over their heads, supposed that they were at liberty to begin, and opened accordingly ; but the seamen reloaded their guns with so much celerity, that no delay occurred in manning those on the opposite side ready for the crash they were intended to make in the stern of the *Montague*.

Just as the *Queen Charlotte*, having arrived abreast, and within about two ships' length of the larboard quarter of the *Montague*, had put her helm up to pass astern of the latter, the *Jacobin* was seen stretching ahead under the *Montague's* lee, as if afraid to encounter the broadside which the *Charlotte*, in her passage through the line, would discharge into her bows. Passing close under the stern of the *Montague*, so close that the fly of the French ensign, as it waved at the flagstaff, brushed the main and mizen shrouds of the *Queen Charlotte*, the latter poured into the French three-decker a tremendous broadside. By this time the *Jacobin* had got nearly abreast of the *Montague* to leeward, the very position which the *Queen Charlotte* herself had intended to occupy. Scarcely, however, had Lord Howe expressed his regret at the circumstance than Mr. Bowen, the master, observing by the motion of her rudder that the *Jacobin* was in the act of bearing up, ordered the helm of the *Queen Charlotte* to be put hard a-starboard, and so little room had the British three-decker to spare in luffing up, that her jib-boom grazed the larboard mizen shrouds of the *Jacobin*.

Directing her larboard guns at the starboard quarter of the *Montague*, the *Queen Charlotte* discharged her opposite ones into the stern and larboard quarter of the

Jacobin, now lying nearly becalmed under her lee. The *Jacobin*, as she dropped astern, returned this fire with such of her guns as would bear, and a shot from one of them cut away the *Queen Charlotte's* foretopmast. Frustrated thus in her attempt to reach the lee-bow of the *Montague*, the *Queen Charlotte* could only continue to ply her larboard guns at the French three-decker, who, at about 10.10 a.m., having her stern-frame and starboard quarter dreadfully shattered, and having sustained a loss of upwards of 100 killed and nearly 200 wounded, set her maintopmast staysail, and without bestowing a single shot in return for the many she had received, ranged ahead clear of the *Queen Charlotte's* destructive fire.

Observing that the *Jacobin* had also made sail, and that several other French ships were preparing to follow the example of their admiral and his second, Lord Howe, at 10.13 a.m., threw out the signal for a general chase. Meanwhile the *Queen Charlotte*, checked in her progress, lay between the *Juste*, the *Montague's* second ahead, on her larboard bow, and the *Jacobin* on her starboard quarter; the latter, however, soon disappeared in the smoke to leeward.

Let us here pause a moment to reflect upon the situation of the *Queen Charlotte*, thus opposed single-handed (for neither the *Gibraltar* nor the *Brunswick*, her two seconds, was near enough to aid her) to one French 120- and two 80-gun ships. Had M. Villaret, or rather Jean-Bon Saint-André, who to all intents and purposes was the commanding officer of the French fleet, possessed firmness enough, at the moment the *Queen Charlotte's* foretopmast came down, to have borne up with the *Montague* athwart the hawse of the British three-decker, the latter, without some extraordinary interposition in her favour, must either have sunk or surrendered.

Prevented by the hasty flight of the French admiral

and his second astern, and the loss of her foretopmast at so critical a moment, from taking up with the antagonist of her choice, the *Queen Charlotte* could only continue, as she did, to pour her heavy broadsides into the *Juste*, still, with herself, making slow way to the westward, or toward the van of the two lines. In a very few minutes the *Juste*, who was distinctly engaged on the opposite or windward side with the *Invincible*, lost first her foremast, and then her main and mizenmasts. About the same time the *Queen Charlotte's* maintopmast came down. The loss of a second topmast, and the damaged state of her rigging and lower yards, rendered the ship wholly unmanageable, and although, having silenced the fire of the *Juste*, she was desirous to go ahead in quest of a fresh opponent, the *Queen Charlotte* could barely keep steerage-way. The *Juste* still lay abreast of the latter ship to windward, with a French jack hoisted at her bowsprit-end, and a spritsail set, to carry her, if possible, clear of her foes. Owing to her being painted similarly to the *Invincible*, who now lay at a short distance ahead of her, but was concealed by the smoke, the *Juste*, seen but indistinctly from the same cause, escaped the attention of the *Queen Charlotte*, until, wearing round, she passed under the latter's stern, and gave her a raking broadside; one of the shots from which, a 36-pounder, passed through the British ship's wing-transom. At the same moment a French three-decker, close-hauled, was seen on the *Queen Charlotte's* weather quarter, approaching under all sail, and evidently intending to weather the whole British line before she ran to leeward. Just, however, as the three-decker, which was the *Républicain* from the rear division, had advanced to a position from which her guns could bear on the *Queen Charlotte*, and just as the latter was expecting to receive, and preparing to return her fire, the main and mizen masts of the *Républicain*, at whom

the *Gibraltar* was then distinctly firing from to windward, went by the board. The *Républicain* instantly bore up, and passed within gunshot astern of the *Charlotte*; but such was the state of confusion on board that the French three-decker let slip the favourable opportunity, and ran by without firing.

After having ranged ahead of the *Queen Charlotte*, the *Montague*, setting her topgallant sails, continued to stand on, followed by the *Jacobin*, until nearly abreast of her own van, when, being joined by such of her friends as had no leeward opponents to keep them in check, she wore round on the starboard tack, and with eleven sail in her train stood in the direction of the *Queen*, then lying about a point upon her starboard or weather bow in a crippled condition.

The perilous situation of the *Queen* attracted Lord Howe's attention, and having by signal ordered the ships of the fleet to close and form in line ahead or astern of her, the *Queen Charlotte* slowly and with difficulty wore round on the starboard tack. All the sail that could be set was presently spread, and, followed by the *Barfleur*, *Thunderer* (as fresh as when the action began), *Royal Sovereign*, *Valiant*, *Leviathan* and a few others, the *Queen Charlotte* stood away, with the wind a little abaft the beam, to protect the disabled and gallant ship that had performed so admirably. Seeing this, the French admiral relinquished his design on the *Queen*, merely cannonading her with a part of his line, as he stretched on to the support of five crippled French ships towing towards him in the east; two of which in particular, being wholly dismasted, ought previously to have been secured by those British ships, of which there were several, that had taken but little part in the action.

The battle of the 1st of June may thus be summarily described. Between 9.15 and 9.30 a.m. the French van

opened its fire upon the British van. In about a quarter of an hour the fire of the French became general, and Lord Howe and his divisional flag-officers, bearing the signal for close action at their mastheads, commenced a heavy fire in return. A few of the British ships cut through the French line and engaged their opponents to leeward; the remainder hauled up to windward and opened their fire, some at a long, others at a shorter, and more effectual distance. At 10.10 a.m., when the action was at its height, the French admiral, in the *Montague*, made sail ahead, followed by his second astern, and afterwards by such others of his ships as, like the *Montague*, had suffered little in their rigging and sails. At about 11.30 a.m. the heat of the action was over, and the British were left with eleven, the French with twelve, more or less dismasted ships. None of the French ships had at this time struck their colours, or, if they had struck, had since rehoisted them; they, for the most part, were striving to escape, under a spritsail, or some small sail set on the tallest stump left to them, and continued to fire at every British ship that passed within gunshot.

After failing in his attempt upon the *Queen*, Admiral Villaret stood on, and succeeded, contrary to all expectation, in covering and cutting off four of his dismasted ships, the *Républicain*, *Mucius*, *Scipion* and *Jemmappes*; a fifth, the *Terrible*, having previously joined him by fighting her way through the British fleet. At about 1.15 p.m. the general firing ceased, but it was not until 2.30 p.m. that the six dismasted French ships nearest at hand, the *Sans-Pareil*, *Juste*, *America*, *Impétueux*, *Northumberland* and *Achille* were secured; and some of these re-opened their fire upon the ships that advanced to take possession of them. At a little after 6 p.m. a seventh French ship, the *Vengeur*, was taken, but in so

shattered a state that in ten minutes afterwards she went down, with upwards of 200 of her crew on board, composed chiefly of the wounded.

Thus ended this memorable engagement, in which, and in the skirmishes of the 28th and 29th of May, the British sustained a loss in gross of 290 killed and 858 wounded. The total loss on the British side, 1,148, is less, however, than the loss in killed and wounded represented to have been sustained by the six French ships which were carried into port. For the total loss sustained by the French in this, to them, most disastrous engagement, we must trust to conjecture, unless we take the round number which they themselves have published. That number is 3,000 for the killed and mortally wounded alone, a full half of which loss fell to the share of the seven captured ships. Hence, reckoning the slightly wounded on board the nineteen returned ships as 500, we may estimate the total loss of the French in killed, wounded and prisoners at 7,000 men.

CORNWALLIS FIGHTS A FRENCH FLEET

1795—*June* 17

ON the morning of the 16th of June, a squadron of five sail-of-the-line, two frigates and a brig sloop, under Vice-Admiral the Hon. Wm. Cornwallis, which had been detached to reconnoitre three French sail-of-the-line under Rear-Admiral Vence at anchor in Belle-Isle, while running in close to the land near Pennemarck with the wind at west-north-west, discovered in the east-south-east, by means of the look-out frigate *Phaeton*, Captain the Hon. Robert Stopford, thirty-one sail of French vessels, of which twelve were of the line and fifteen large frigates, all standing out upon a wind, and many of them under a press of canvas. The fleet was under the command of Vice-Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, having under him the Rear-Admirals Bruix, Vence and Kerguelen. At about 11 a.m. the British squadron, being too weak to offer battle, hauled to the wind on the starboard tack under all sail. At about 2 p.m. the French squadron, then on the same tack as the British, separated into two divisions, one of which tacked and stood to the northward while the other continued her course to the southward. Soon afterwards the wind, shifting round to the northward, brought the latter to windward of the British; and the south division, by the same favourable change of wind, was enabled to lay up for them. At

this time the north division bore from the *Bellerophon*, who was then the Admiral's second astern, east-by-north eight or nine miles, and the south division south-east about ten miles.

Towards morning the *Bellerophon* and *Brunswick*, to improve their sailing, were compelled to cut away their anchors and launches and start a portion of their water and provisions, but still they very much retarded the squadron in its progress. As a consequence of this, daylight discovered the French squadron coming up very fast in three divisions. The weather division consisted of three ships-of-the-line and five frigates, and was nearly abreast of the British; the centre division of five ships-of-the-line and four frigates; and the lee division of four sail-of-the-line, five frigates, two brigs and two cutters. At about 9 a.m. the French van ship opened her fire upon the rearmost English ship, the *Mars*, and yawing, fired repeatedly into her. At about 9.30 a.m. the *Bellerophon*, as ordered, ran by and took her station ahead of the *Royal Sovereign*, and at a little before noon the whole of the British ships began firing their stern chasers at the enemy. At 1 p.m. the second vanship of the French opened her fire on the British rear, and at 1.30 p.m. the first vanship, having had her main top-gallant-mast shot away and being otherwise damaged by the fire of the *Mars*, sheered off and went astern. Her second now opened a brisk cannonade on the latter ship's larboard quarter. A harassing fire was kept up at intervals by the leading French ships in succession during the next three or four hours, when the Vice-Admiral, observing that the *Mars* from the crippled state of her rigging and sails had fallen rather to leeward, and was likely to be overpowered, signalled her to alter her course to starboard; and immediately afterwards the *Royal Sovereign*, bearing round up, opened her broadside on

the enemy. She then with the *Triumph* ran down to support the *Mars*, and soon brought her in closer order of battle. Four of the French vanships had, in the meantime, bore up to secure the crippled British ship, but, seeing the bold manœuvre of the Vice-Admiral, they again hauled to the wind. A partial firing continued until about 7.10 p.m., when it entirely ceased. In another quarter of an hour the French ships shortened sail and gave over the pursuit. Soon afterwards they tacked, and stood to the eastward, and at sunset were nearly hull-down in the north-east.

The brunt of the action having been borne by the *Mars* and the *Triumph*, those ships, particularly the former, were the only sufferers by the enemy's shot. The *Triumph* had some of her sails and running rigging cut, but escaped without the loss of a man. The *Mars* had her mainmast and fore- and main-topsail-yards damaged, besides the chief of her standing and running rigging; she had also twelve men wounded but none killed. Owing to the comparative flimsy structure of their stern frames and the want of proper portholes, all the British ships, however, were great sufferers from the protracted stern fire which they were obliged to maintain.

It is difficult to conceive what could have induced the French Admiral to withdraw his twelve sail-of-the-line and fifteen frigates, after they had almost surrounded four British sail-of-the-line and two frigates. Whatever were M. Villaret's reasons, the masterly retreat of Vice-Admiral Cornwallis excited general admiration; and the spirit manifested by the different ship's companies, while pressed upon by so overwhelming a force, was just such as ought always to animate British seamen when in the presence of an enemy.

WILLIAM JAMES

DEFEAT OF THE SPANIARDS OFF ST. VINCENT

1797—February 14

THE morning of the 14th—that disastrous day to the Spaniards—broke dark and hazy upon the two fleets. That of the British was formed into two compact divisions, standing on the starboard tack, with the wind at west-and-by-south, Cape St. Vincent at this time being east-and-by-north, distant eight leagues. At about 6.30 p.m. the *Culloden* made the signal for five sail in the south-west-and-by-south; and the *Lively* and *Niger*, frigates, presently confirmed the same, adding that the strangers were by the wind on the starboard tack. The *Bonne Citoyenne*, sloop, Captain Charles Lindsay, was directed to reconnoitre. At 8.15 a.m. the Admiral made a signal for the fleet to form in close order, and, in a few minutes afterwards, to prepare for battle.

At about 9.30 a.m. the *Culloden*, *Blenheim* and *Prince George* proceeded to chase, by signal, in the south-and-by-west quarter, and upon the *Bonne Citoyenne* signalling that she saw eight sail in that direction, the *Irresistible*, *Colossus* and *Orion* were allowed to add themselves to the former. In less than half an hour the chasing ships had advanced so far ahead as to be seen and made out for ships-of-the-line by the Spanish reconnoitring frigates *Santa Catalina* and *Preciosa*. It was then, and not till then, that the Spaniards recovered from their delusion as to the ships in sight being part of a convoy. But they fell into another. An American, who had passed through

the British fleet on the 4th, when the *Culloden* was away in chase, afterwards spoke the Spanish Admiral, and informed him that Sir John Jervis had with him but nine sail-of-the-line. The partial view obtained of the British fleet through the intervening fog tended to confirm the statement; and the Spaniards, one and all, were in high glee at the thought of the triumphant entry they should soon make into the harbour of Cadiz.

At a little past 10 a.m. the *Minerve* made the signal for twenty sail in the south-west, and presently afterwards, for eight in the south-and-by-west. In another half hour the *Bonne Citoyenne* announced that she could distinguish sixteen, and immediately after twenty-five, of the strange ships to be of the line. By this time, indeed, the fog had cleared away and left the two fleets at liberty to form an estimate, so far as counting numbers could afford it, of their relative strength. What was the surprise of the Spaniards at seeing fifteen instead of nine sail-of-the-line, and those fifteen ships formed in two close lines, which steadily advanced to cut off the ships that, owing either to mismanagement or a blind confidence in their numerical strength, had been allowed to separate from the main body! The ships of the latter, formed in a square, were running before the wind under all sail, while the leewardmost ships, with their starboard tacks on board, were striving hard to effect a junction with the former in time to frustrate, if possible, the evident design of the British Admiral.

As, besides the object of cutting off the six detached sail-of-the-line, it was now an equally important one to be ready to receive the nineteen sail-of-the-line bearing down from to windward, the British Admiral, soon after 11 a.m., ordered his fleet to form in line of battle ahead and astern as most convenient, and to steer south-south-west. The advanced position of the *Culloden* in the

morning's chase conferred upon her the honour of being the leading ship in the line about to be formed, which line, when the ships had fallen into their stations, was composed of the following ships, standing close-hauled on the starboard tack, in the order in which they are named : *Culloden*, *Blenheim*, *Prince George*, *Orion*, *Irresistible*, *Colossus*, *Victory*, *Barfleur*, *Goliath*, *Egmont*, *Britannia*, *Namur*, *Captain*, *Diadem* and *Excellent*. Thus assorted, the British fleet steered direct for the opening, still wide, but gradually narrowing, between the two divisions of the fleet of the enemy.

At about 11 a.m. the advanced ships of the Spanish weather division began wearing and trimming on the larboard tack, and at about half-past the *Culloden*, coming abreast of the leewardmost of those ships, opened upon them, in passing, her starboard broadside, then stood on, followed by the *Blenheim*, who also gave and received a distant fire. The *Culloden*, as soon as she had reached the wake of the enemy's line, tacked and again stood toward it. The three rearmost Spanish ships, the *Conde de Regla*, *Principe d'Asturias* and *Oriente*, being some way astern of their companions, were in danger of being cut off by the leading British ships ; they therefore bore up together athwart the hawse of the *Prince George* who, being rather distant from her leader, had left a sufficient opening for the purpose. The three Spaniards then hauled up on the starboard tack and joined four other line-of-battle ships that lay a little to windward of the remaining three of the lee-division. Upon the *Prince George's* tacking after the *Blenheim*, which was at about 12.30 p.m., the enemy's lee-division, or, at least, the advanced portion of it, put about also, and thus both divisions of the Spanish fleet were brought on the larboard-tack.

The ships astern of the *Prince George*, as they increased

the distance from the van, lessened it from the rear division, several of the ships of which opened, and received in return a smart fire, evidently to the disadvantage of the latter, as they all, except one, wore round on the other tack. The *Egmont*, at this time, received a shot through the mainmast and another through the mizenmast; and the *Colossus* had the misfortune to have her foreyard and fore-topsail-yard shot away in the slings, and the topmast itself shot through just about the cap. This compelled her to wear out of the line, and afforded an opportunity to a Spanish three-decker, who was to windward and astern of the others, to bear up, with the intention of raking the crippled British ship. The *Orion*, seeing this, backed her main-topsail and lay by to cover the *Colossus*, whereupon the three-decker wore and stood away to the southward after her friends.

The Spanish ship that had not accompanied the lee-division in its retreat, appears to have been the *Oriente*; she hauled up on the larboard tack, and stretching along under the lee of the remainder of the British line, from which she was partly concealed by the smoke, succeeded, after some ineffectual firing from the rearmost British ships, and from the *Lively* and other frigates to leeward, in regaining her own line to windward. This was an act of gallantry and seamanship highly creditable to the Spanish captain and his crew.

At 1.15 p.m., just as the rearmost ship of that part of the British line, which was still on the starboard tack, had advanced so far ahead as to leave an open sea to leeward of the Spanish weather division, then passing in the contrary direction, the ships of the latter, as the last effort to join their lee-division, bore up together. Scarcely was the movement made ere it caught the attention of one who was as quick in foreseeing the consequences of its success as he was ready in devising the means for its

failure. Commodore Nelson immediately directed Captain Miller to wear the *Captain*. The latter was soon round, and, passing between the *Diadem* and the *Excellent*, ran athwart the bows of the Spanish ships as far as the ninth from the rear, which was the *Santissima Trinidad*. The *Captain* instantly opened her fire upon the latter, and the cluster of ships round her, with the rear-most of which, the *Culloden*, who had recommenced firing a few minutes before, was warmly engaged. In a little while the Spanish Admiral and the ships about him, not liking to present their bows, even to so puny a force, hauled nearly to the wind, and soon opened very heavy fire upon the *Captain* and *Culloden*. At about 2 p.m. the latter had stretched so far ahead as to cover and afford a few minutes' respite to her consort. Of this the *Captain* took advantage, replenishing her decks with shot and splicing and repairing her running rigging; she then renewed the battle with increased animation. At about 2.30 p.m. the *Blenheim* came crowding up and, passing to windward of the *Captain*, afforded her a second respite, which was taken advantage of as before. The two more immediate opponents of the *Captain* and *Culloden* had been the *San Ysidro* and *Salvador del Mundo*, these, being already with some of the topmasts gone and otherwise in a crippled state, the *Blenheim*, by a few of her heavy broadsides, sent staggering astern to be cannonaded afresh by the *Prince George* and other advancing ships.

The *Excellent* was now seen coming up. This ship had been ordered by the Admiral to quit her station in the line, and had the weather division, consisting of the *Victory*, *Barfleur*, *Namur*, *Egmont*, *Goliath* and (at a great distance off, though under all sail) *Britannia*, in its intended passage to windward of the Spanish line. At about 2.30 p.m. the *Excellent*, having by a press of

sail arrived abreast of the *Salvador del Mundo's* weather quarter, brought-to and engaged her warmly, until the latter, ceasing to fire in return and, as it appeared, striking her colours, the *Excellent* stood on to the next ship, the *San Ysidro*, whose three topmasts had already been shot away. This ship she engaged closely on the lee side until a few minutes past 3 p.m., when the *San Ysidro*, after a gallant defence in her already crippled state, hauled down the Spanish and hoisted the British flag. The *Excellent* then made sail ahead, and at about 3.20 p.m. came to close action with the *San Nicolas*, whose foretopmast was gone and who, as well as the ship abreast but rather ahead of her to windward, the *San Josef*, had been occasionally firing at the *Captain*. The *Excellent*, passing within two feet of the *San Nicolas'* starboard side, poured in a destructive fire and then stood on. The latter, in luffing up to avoid Captain Collingwood's (of the *Excellent*) salute, ran foul of the *San Josef*, whose mizenmast had already been shot away, and who had received other considerable damage by the united fire of the *Captain*, *Culloden*, *Blenheim* and *Prince George*.

The *Captain*, as soon as the *Excellent* was sufficiently ahead of her to be clear, luffed-up as close to the wind as her shattered condition would admit, when her foretopmast, which had already been severely shot through, fell over the side. In this unmanageable state, with her wheel shot away, and all her sails, shrouds and running rigging more or less cut, with the *Blenheim* far ahead and the *Culloden* crippled astern, no alternative remained but to board. As a preparative the *Captain* reopened, within less than twenty yards, her fire upon the *San Nicolas*, who returned it with spirit for some minutes, when the *Captain* suddenly put her helm a-starboard, and on coming to hooked, with her larboard cathead, the

San Nicolas' starboard gallery, and with her spritsail-yard the latter's mizen-rigging. To give what immediately ensued, in any other than the language of Nelson himself, would be the height of presumption. Here, then, are his words :

“The soldiers of the 69th, with an alacrity which will ever do them credit, and Lieutenant Pearson of the same regiment, were almost the foremost on this service. The first man who jumped into the enemy's mizen-chains was Captain Berry, late my first lieutenant (Captain Miller was in the very act of going also, but I directed him to remain); he was supported from our spritsail-yard, which hooked in the mizen rigging. A soldier of the 69th regiment having broken the upper quarter-galley window I jumped in myself, and was followed by others as fast as possible. I found the cabin doors fastened, and some Spanish officers fired their pistols, but having broken open the doors the soldiers fired, and the Spanish brigadier (commodore, with a distinguishing pendant) fell, as retreating to the quarter-deck, where I found Captain Berry in possession of the poop, and the Spanish ensign hauling down.

“I passed with my people and Lieutenant Pearson on the larboard gangway to the fore-castle, where I met two or three Spanish officers, prisoners to my seamen; they delivered me their swords. A fire of pistols or muskets opening from the Admiral's stern-galley of the *San Josef*, I directing the soldiers to fire into her stern, and calling to Captain Miller, ordered him to send more men into the *San Nicolas*; and directed my people to board the first-rate, which was done in an instant, Captain Berry assisting me in the main-chains. At this moment a Spaniard looked over the quarter-deck rail and said they surrendered. From this most welcome intelligence it was not long before I was on the quarter-deck, where the

Spanish captain, with a bow, presented me his sword, and said the Admiral was dying of his wounds. I asked him, on his honour, if the ship was surrendered. He then declared she was, on which I gave him my hand, and desired him to call on his officers and ship's company and tell them of it, which he did. And on the quarter-deck of a Spanish first-rate, extravagant as the story may seem, did I receive the swords of vanquished Spaniards, which, as I received, I gave to William Fearney, one of my bargemen, who put them, with the greatest *sang froid*, under his arm. I was surrounded by Captain Berry, Lieutenant Pearson, of the 69th regiment, John Sykes, John Thompson, Francis Cooke—all old *Agamem-nons*—and several other brave men, seamen and soldiers. Thus fell these ships."

The day had been evidently won, and, at this dark season of the year, nearly worn out also, when, at a few minutes past 4 p.m. the British Admiral made the signal for his fleet to bring-to on the starboard tack. This he did, chiefly to cover the prizes and disabled ships from the nine Spanish ships of the lee-division, which, having made a good stretch to windward on the starboard tack, were now rapidly advancing on the opposite one. The determined front of the British, however, defeated their purpose ; and the Spaniards, after firing a few ineffectual broadsides, particularly at the *Britannia*, who lay nearest to them, stood on to accomplish, with the aid of their friends in the van, what they found a more easy task, the rescue of their chief.

Both fleets lay-to during the night, to repair their damages, and daybreak discovered them on opposite tacks, each in line-of-battle ahead. The Spaniards, although possessing, along with the weather-gage, eighteen or twenty effective sail-of-the-line, made no attempt to renew the action, but, with the *Santissima Trinidad* and

another crippled ship in tow, stood on to the northward. The British who, including the *Colossus* and *Culloden*, neither of which was fit to be stationed in the line, could muster fourteen ships, then took their four prizes and the *Captain* in tow, and slowly beat their course to the southward.

The most striking feature in this highly important victory is the boldness that prompted the attack. Another commander might have paused ere he, with fifteen sail-of-the-line, ran into the midst of twenty-five, and then the separated ships would have closed and the enemy's line been too compact to be attempted with any hope of success. But Sir John Jervis, relying upon the firmness of his band, and viewing with a tactical eye the loose and disordered state of the foe, resolved at once to profit by it; he rushed in and conquered. That, as usually asserted, he broke the enemy's line cannot be said, for there was no line to be broken. He chose the proper moment for advancing; he had a leader in Nelson who knew not how to flinch or hang back, and he had all about him who were emulous to follow so bright an example.

On the other hand, the very front he put on was enough to sink the hearts of the Spaniards. Thus it was ever with high-minded valour; it daunts by its fearlessness and begins to subdue ere it begins to combat. If the Spaniards were in confusion at the commencement, they were still more so during the progress of the action. Their ships were so huddled together that if a shot did not strike one it was almost sure to strike another, and many of the ships were utterly unable to fire at all, without firing, as was frequently the case, into their comrades. All this disorder infused additional confidence in the British, and they rattled through the business, more as if it were a sport than an affair of life and death. At

length the separated divisions got together, and the Spanish Admiral formed his ships in line ; instantly the British Admiral assembled his scattered ships and soon formed them in equal, if not better, order. Each party then drew off, the one to lament, the other to exult, over the occurrences of the day.

WILLIAM JAMES

THE DUTCH DEFEATED OFF CAMPERDOWN

1797—October 11

EARLY on the morning of the 9th of October, the *Black Joke*, hired armed-lugger, showed herself at the back of Yarmouth Sands, with the signal flying for an enemy. Immediately all was bustle and preparation, and by a little before noon, Admiral Duncan, with eleven sail-of-the-line, weighed and put to sea; directing his course, with a fair wind, straight across to his old station off the Texel. On the following morning, the *Powerful*, *Agincourt* and *Isis*, joined company; and on the afternoon of the 11th, the advanced ships were near enough to count twenty-two sail of square-rigged vessels, chiefly merchantmen, at anchor in the Texel. The British Admiral, having received from Captain Trollope information what course the enemy's fleet were steering, now stood along shore to the southward. At about 7 a.m. on the following morning, the *Russell*, *Adamant* and *Beaulieu* were descried in the south-west, bearing at their mastheads the joyful signal of an enemy in sight to leeward; and at about 8.30 a.m., a strange fleet, consisting of twenty-one ships and four brigs, made its appearance in the quarter pointed out by the signal.

The Dutch fleet, consisting of four 74, seven 64, four 50 and two 44-gun ships, two 32-gun frigates, two corvettes, four brig-sloops, and two advice-boats, under

the command of Vice-Admiral de Winter, had quitted the Texel at 10 a.m. of the 10th, with a light breeze at east-and-by-north. On the night of the same day, the wind then at south-west, Captain Trollope's squadron was discovered to windward, and immediately chased; but the Dutch ships, owing to their indifferent sailing, were left without a chance. The fleet then stretched out toward the flat of the Meuse, when Vice-Admiral de Winter expected to be joined by a 64-gun ship. Not meeting her, he stood on to the westward followed, or rather, as the wind was, preceded, by Captain Trollope's squadron.

The wind continuing westerly during the three succeeding days, prevented the Dutch fleet from getting abreast of Lowestoft until the evening of the 10th. The extreme darkness of that night induced Vice-Admiral de Winter to detach a few of his best sailing ships, in the hope that they would be enabled, by daybreak, to get to windward of, and capture or chase away, the prying intruders; but, just as the chasers had crowded sail for the purpose, some friendly merchant-ships came into the fleet and informed the Vice-Admiral that the English fleet was within eleven leagues of him, in the north-north-east, steering east-and-by-south. Instantly the detached ships were recalled; and the Dutch fleet, as soon as it was in compact order, edged away, with the wind at north-west towards Camperdown, the appointed place of rendezvous. At daylight on the 11th, the Dutch fleet was about nine leagues off the village of Scheveningen, in loose order, speaking a friendly convoy, from whom additional information was obtained. At this time the persevering observers to windward were seen with numerous signals flying, which convinced Vice-Admiral de Winter that the British fleet was in sight. He accordingly ordered his captains to their respective stations, and,

to facilitate the speedier junction of the leewardmost ships, stood towards the land. On the *Wykerden's* bearing east, distant about four leagues, the Dutch fleet hauled to the wind on the starboard tack, and shortly afterwards discovered Admiral Duncan's fleet in the north-north-west. The former then put about; and, as soon as a close line was formed in the direction of north-east and south-west, the Dutch ships, throwing their main-topsails aback, resolutely awaited the approach of the British.

Owing chiefly to the inequality in the point of sailing among the British ships, Admiral Duncan's fleet, when that of the Dutch appeared in sight, was in very loose order. To enable the dull sailors to take their allotted stations, the Admiral, at about 11.10 a.m. brought to on the starboard tack; but, observing soon afterwards that the Dutch ships were drawing fast inshore, he successively made the signal for each ship to engage her opponent in the enemy's line, to bear up and sail large, and for the van to attack the enemy's rear. At about 11.30 a.m. the centre of the Dutch line then bearing about south-east, distant four or five miles, the British fleet bore down; but, owing to the still disunited state of the ships, in no regular order of battle, some were stretching across to get into their proper stations; others seemed in doubt where they were to place themselves; and others, again, were pushing, at all hazards, for the thickest of the foe. At a little before noon, Admiral Duncan signalled that he should pass through the enemy's line and engage him to lee-ward. Unfortunately, the prevailing thick weather rendered this signal, for the short time it was up, not generally understood. It was replaced by one for close action, which was kept flying for an hour and a half, till, indeed, it was shot away by the enemy.

At about 12.30 noon, Vice-Admiral Onslow, whose ship, the *Monarch*, was leading the advanced or larboard-division of the British fleet, cut through the Dutch line between the *Haerlem* and *Jupiter*, pouring into each, at passing, a well-directed broadside. The *Monarch*, then leaving the *Haerlem* to the *Powerful*, luffed-up close alongside the *Jupiter*, and the two ships became warmly engaged. The rounding-to of the *Monarch* afforded to the *Monnikendam* (frigate) and *Atalanta* (brig), in the rear, the opportunity to bestow some raking broadsides on the former ; and the *Atalanta*, in particular, did not retire until considerably damaged by the *Monarch's* shot. The remaining ships of the larboard-division, more especially the *Monmouth* and *Russell*, were soon in action with the Dutch rear ships ; among the last of which to surrender was the first that had been engaged—the *Jupiter*.

It was a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes after the *Monarch* had broken the Dutch line, that the *Venerable*, frustrated in her attempt to pass astern of the *Vryheid* by the promptness of the *States-General* in closing the interval, ran under the stern of the latter, and soon compelled her to bear up ; and the *Triumph*, the *Venerable's* second astern, found immediate employment for the *Wassenaer*, the second astern to the *States-General*. Meanwhile, the *Venerable* had ranged up close on the lee-side of her first intended antagonist, the *Vryheid* ; with whom, on the opposite side, the *Ardent* was also warmly engaged, and, in front the *Bedford*, as she cut through the line astern of the *Gelykheid*. The *Brutus*, *Leyden* and *Mars*, not being pressed upon by opponents, advanced to the succour of their Admiral, and did considerable damage to the *Venerable*, as well as to the *Ardent* and others of the British van-ships. Just at this time the *Hercules*, which ship having caught fire on

the poop, had bore up out of the line, came drifting very near the *Venerable* to leeward. Although the Dutch crew contrived, in a surprising manner, to extinguish the flames, yet, having thrown overboard all their powder, they had no alternative but to surrender their ship (whose mizenmast had been already shot away) to the nearest opponent. The serious damages which the *Venerable* had sustained, obliged her to haul off, and wear round on the starboard tack. Seeing this, the *Triumph*, who had compelled the *Wassenaer* to strike, approached to give the *coup de grace* to the *Vryheid*. That gallant ship, however, still persisted in defending herself. At length, from the united force of the *Venerable*, *Triumph*, *Ardent* and *Director*, her three masts fell over the side and disabled her starboard guns; the *Vryheid* then dropped out of the line, an ungovernable hulk, and struck her colours.

With the surrender of Vice-Admiral de Winter's ship, the action ceased; and the British found themselves in possession of the *Vryheid* and *Jupiter*, 74's; *Devries*, *Gelykheid*, *Haerlem*, *Hercules* and *Wassenaer*, 64's; *Alkmaar* and *Delft*, 50's; and the frigates *Monnikendam* and *Ambuscade*. The first of these frigates had been engaged by the *Monmouth*, and was finally taken possession of by the *Beaulieu*. The Dutch van-ship, the *Beschermmer*, dreading, naturally enough, too strong an opponent in the *Lancaster*, had, very early, wore out of the line. Her example was followed, with much less reason, by several of the other Dutch ships, who, although seen making off, could not be pursued on account of the nearness of the land and the shallowness of the water. The British ships then hastened to secure their prizes that they might, before nightfall, get clear of the shore.

The appearance of the British ships at the close of the action, was very unlike what it generally is when the

French and Spaniards have been the opponents of the former. Not a single lower mast, not even a topmast, was shot away ; nor were the rigging and sails of the ships in their usual tattered state. It was at the hulls of their adversaries that the Dutchmen had directed their shot ; and, this not until the former were so near that no aim could well miss. Scarcely a ship in the fleet but had several shots sticking in her sides ; many were pierced by them in all directions ; and a few of the ships had received some dangerous ones between wind and water, that kept their pumps in constant employment. The *Ardent* had received no fewer than ninety-eight round shot in her hull ; the *Bellicieux*, *Bedford*, *Venerable* and *Monarch*, had likewise their share. As to the last-named ship, such was the entire state of her masts, rigging and sails, that, were the topsail-sheets, that had been shot away, hauled home, no one, viewing her from a little distance, would have believed she had been in action.

WILLIAM JAMES

THE BATTLE OF THE NILE

1798

ON the 1st of August, about ten in the morning, the British fleet came in sight of Alexandria ; the port had been vacant and solitary when they saw it last ; it was now crowded with ships, and they perceived with exultation that the tri-colour flag was flying from the walls. At four in the afternoon, Captain Hood, in the *Zealous*, made the signal for the enemy's fleet. For many preceding days Nelson had hardly taken either sleep or food : he now ordered his dinner to be served, while preparations were making for battle ; and when his officers rose from table, and went to their separate stations, he said to them : " Before this time to-morrow, I shall have gained a peerage or Westminster Abbey."

The French Fleet had arrived at Alexandria on the 1st of July ; and Brueys, not being able to enter the port, which time and neglect had ruined, moored his ships in Aboukir Bay, in a strong and compact line of battle ; the headmost vessel, according to his own account, being as close as possible to a shoal on the NW., and the rest of the fleet forming a kind of curve along the line of deep water, so as not to be turned by any means in the SW. By Bonaparte's desire, he had offered a reward of 10,000 livres to any pilot of the country who would carry the squadron in ; but none could be found who would venture to take charge of a single vessel drawing more than twenty feet. He had, therefore, to make the best of his

situation, and chosen the strongest position which he could possibly take in an open road. The commissary of the fleet said, they were moored in such a manner as to bid defiance to a force more than double their own. This presumption could not then be thought unreasonable. Admiral Barrington, when moored in a similar manner off St. Lucia, in the year 1778, beat off the Comte d'Estaign in three several attacks, though his force was inferior by almost one-third to that which assailed it. Here, the advantage of numbers, both in ships, guns, and men, was in favour of the French. They had thirteen ships of the line and four frigates, carrying 1,196 guns, and 11,230 men. The English had the same number of ships of the line, and one fifty-gun ship, carrying 1,012 guns and 8,068 men. The English ships were all seventy-fours; the French had three eighty-gun ships, and one three-decker of 120.

During the whole pursuit, it had been Nelson's practice, whenever circumstances would permit, to have his captains on board the *Vanguard*, and explain to them his own ideas of the different and best modes of attack, and such plans as he proposed to execute, on falling in with the enemy, whatever their situation might be. There is no possible position, it is said, which he did not take into calculation. His officers were thus fully acquainted with his principles of tactics: and such was his confidence in their abilities, that the only thing determined upon, in case they should find the French at anchor, was for the ships to form as most convenient for their mutual support and to anchor by the stern. "First gain the victory," he said, "and then make the best use of it you can."

The moment he perceived the position of the French, that intuitive genius with which Nelson was endowed displayed itself; and it instantly struck him, that where

there was room for an enemy's ship to swing, there was room for one of ours to anchor. The plan which he intended to pursue, therefore, was to keep entirely on the outer side of the French line, and station his ships, as far as he was able, one on the outer bow, and another on the outer quarter, of each of the enemy's. Captain Berry, when he comprehended the scope of the design, exclaimed with transport, "If we succeed, what will the world say!" "There is no *if* in the case," replied the Admiral: "that we shall succeed is certain: who may live to tell the story is a very different question."

As the squadron advanced, they were assailed by a shower of shot and shells from the batteries on the island, and the enemy opened a steady fire from the starboard side of their whole line within half gun-shot distance, full into the bows of our van ships. It was received in silence, the men on board every ship were employed aloft in furling sails, and below in tending the braces, and making ready for anchoring.

A French brig was instructed to decoy the English, by manœuvring so as to tempt them toward a shoal lying off the island of Bequieres; but Nelson either knew the danger, or suspected some deceit; and the lure was unsuccessful. Captain Foley led the way in the *Goliath*, outsailing the *Zealous*, which for some minutes disputed this post of honour with him. He had long conceived that if the enemy were moored in line of battle in with the land, the best plan of attack would be to lead between them and the shore, because the French guns on that side were not likely to be manned, nor even ready for action. Intending, therefore, to fix himself on the inner bow of the *Guerrier*, he kept as near the edge of the bank as the depth of water would admit; but his anchor hung, and having opened his fire, he drifted to the second ship, the *Conquerant*, before it was clear; then anchored by

the stern, inside of her, and in ten minutes shot away her mast. Hood, in the *Zealous*, perceiving this, took the station which the *Goliath* intended to have occupied, and totally disabled the *Guerrier* in twelve minutes. The third ship which doubled the enemy's van was the *Orion*, Sir J. Saumarez; she passed to windward of the *Zealous*, and opened her larboard guns as long as they bore on the *Guerrier*; then passing inside the *Goliath*, sunk a frigate which annoyed her, hauled round towards the French line, and anchoring inside, between the fifth and sixth ships from the *Guerrier*, took her station on the larboard bow of the *Franklin*, and the quarter of the *Peuple Souverain*, receiving and returning the fire of both. The sun was now nearly down. The *Audacious*, Captain Gould, pouring a heavy fire into the *Guerrier* and *Conquerant*, fixed herself on the larboard bow of the latter; and when that ship struck, passed on to the *Peuple Souverain*. The *Theseus*, Captain Miller, followed, brought down the *Guerrier's* remaining main and mizen masts, then anchored inside of the *Spartiate*, the third in the French line.

While these advanced ships doubled the French line, the *Vanguard* was the first that anchored on the outer side of the enemy, within half pistol-shot of their third ship, the *Spartiate*. Nelson had six colours flying in different parts of his rigging, lest they should be shot away;—that they should be struck no British Admiral considers a possibility. He veered half a cable and instantly opened a tremendous fire; under cover of which the other four ships of his division, the *Minotaur*, *Bellerophon*, *Defence*, and *Majestic*, sailed on ahead of the Admiral. In a few minutes, every man stationed at the first six guns in the fore part of the *Vanguard's* deck was killed or wounded—these guns were three times cleared. Captain Louis, in the *Minotaur*, anchored next ahead, and took off the

fire of the *Aquilon*, the fourth in the enemy's line. The *Bellerophon*, Captain Darby, passed ahead and dropped her stern anchor on the starboard bow of the *Orient*, seventh in the line, Brueys' own ship, of one hundred and twenty guns, whose difference of force was in proportion of more than seven to three, and whose weight of ball, from the lower deck alone, exceeded that from the whole broadside of the *Bellerophon*. Captain Peyton, in the *Defence*, took his station ahead of the *Minotaur*, and engaged the *Franklin*, the sixth in the line ; by which judicious movement the British line remained unbroken. The *Majestic*, Captain Westcott, got entangled with the main rigging of one of the French ships astern of the *Orient* and suffered dreadfully from that three-decker's fire : but she swung clear, and closely engaging the *Heureux*, the ninth ship on the starboard bow, received also the fire of the *Tonnant*, which was the eighth in the line. The other four ships of the British squadron, having been detached previous to the discovery of the French, were at a considerable distance when the action began. It commenced at half after six ; about seven, night closed, and there was no other light than that from the fire of the contending fleets.

Trowbridge, in the *Culloden*, then foremost of the remaining ships, was two leagues astern. He came on sounding, as the others had done : as he advanced, the increasing darkness increased the difficulty of the navigation ; and suddenly, after having found eleven fathoms water, before the lead could be hove again, he was fast aground : nor could all his own exertions, joined to those of the *Leander* and the *Mutine* brig, which came to his assistance, get him off in time to bear a part in the action. His ship, however, served as a beacon to the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure*, which would else, from the course which they were holding, have gone considerably

further on the reef, and must inevitably have been lost.

These ships entered the bay, and took their stations, in the darkness, in a manner long spoken of with admiration by all who remembered it. Captain Hallowell, in the *Swiftsure*, as he was bearing down, fell in with what seemed to be a strange sail : Nelson had directed his ships to hoist four lights horizontally at the mizen-peak, as soon as it became dark ; and this vessel had no such distinction. Hallowell, however, with great judgment, ordered his men not to fire : if she was an enemy, he said, she was in too disabled a state to escape ; but, from her sails being loose, and the way in which her head was, it was probable she might be an English ship. It was the *Bellerophon*, overpowered by the huge *Orient* : her lights had gone overboard, nearly 200 of her crew were killed or wounded, all her masts and cables had been shot away ; and she was drifting out of the line, toward the lee side of the bay. Her station, at this important time, was occupied by the *Swiftsure*, which opened a steady fire on the quarter of the *Franklin*, and the bows of the French Admiral. At the same instant, Captain Ball, with the *Alexander*, passed under his stern, and anchored within side of his larboard quarter, raking him, and keeping up a severe fire of musquetry upon his decks. The last ship which arrived to complete the destruction of the enemy was the *Leander*. Captain Thompson, finding that nothing could be done that night to get off the *Culloden*, advanced with the intention of anchoring athwart-hawse of the *Orient*. The *Franklin* was so near her ahead, that there was not room for him to pass clear of the two ; he, therefore, took his station athwart-hawse of the latter, in such a position as to rake both.

The two first ships of the French line had been dismasted within a quarter of an hour after the commencement of the action and the others had in that time suffered

so severely, that victory was already certain. The third, fourth, and fifth, were taken possession of at half-past eight.

Meantime, Nelson received a severe wound on the head from a piece of langridge shot. Captain Berry caught him in his arms as he was falling. The great effusion of blood occasioned an apprehension that the wound was mortal : Nelson himself thought so : a large flap of the skin of the forehead, cut from the bone, had fallen over one eye : and the other being blind, he was in total darkness. When he was carried down, the surgeon—in the midst of a scene scarcely to be conceived by those who have never seen a cock-pit in time of action, and the heroism which is displayed amid its horrors—with a natural and pardonable eagerness, quitted the poor fellow then under his hands, that he might instantly attend the Admiral. “No !” said Nelson, “I will take my turn with my brave fellows.” Nor would he suffer his own wound to be examined till every man who had been previously wounded was properly attended to. Fully believing that the wound was mortal, and that he was about to die, as he had ever desired, in battle and in victory, he called the chaplain, and desired him to deliver what he supposed to be his dying remembrance to Lady Nelson : he then sent for Captain Louis on board from the *Minotaur*, that he might thank him personally for the great assistance which he had rendered to the *Van-guard* ; and, ever mindful of those who deserved to be his friends, appointed Captain Hardy from the brig to the command of his own ship, Captain Berry having to go home with the news of the victory.

When the surgeon came in due time to examine his wound (for it was in vain to entreat him to let it be examined sooner), the most anxious silence prevailed ; and the joy of the wounded men, and of the whole crew,

when they heard that the hurt was merely superficial, gave Nelson deeper pleasure than the unexpected assurance that his life was in no danger. The surgeon requested, and as far as he could, ordered him to remain quiet : but Nelson could not rest. He called for his secretary, Mr. Campbell, to write the despatches. Campbell had himself been wounded ; and was so affected at the blind and suffering state of the Admiral, that he was unable to write. The chaplain was then sent for ; but, before he came, Nelson, with his characteristic eagerness, took the pen, and contrived to trace a few words marking his devout sense of the success which had already been obtained. He was now left alone ; when suddenly a cry was heard on the deck, that the *Orient* was on fire. In the confusion, he found his way up, unassisted and unnoticed ; and, to the astonishment of everyone, appeared on the quarter-deck, where he immediately gave orders that boats should be sent to the relief of the enemy.

It was soon after nine that the fire on board the *Orient* broke out. Brueys was dead : he had received three wounds, yet would not leave his post : a fourth cut him almost in two. He desired not to be carried below, but to be left to die upon deck. The flames soon mastered his ship. Her sides had just been painted ; and the oil-jars and paint-buckets were lying on the poop. By the prodigious light of this conflagration, the situation of the two fleets could now be perceived, the colours of both being clearly distinguishable. About ten o'clock the ship blew up, with a shock which was felt to the very bottom of every vessel. Many of her officers and men jumped overboard, some clinging to the spars and pieces of wreck, with which the sea was strewn, others swimming to escape from the destruction which they momentarily dreaded. Some were picked up by our boats ; and

some, even in the heat and fury of the action, were dragged into the lower ports of the nearest British vessel by the British sailors. The greater part of her crew, however, stood the danger till the last, and continued to fire from the lower deck. This tremendous explosion was followed by a silence not less awful: the firing immediately ceased on both sides; and the first sound which broke the silence was the dash of her shattered masts and yards, falling into the water from the vast height to which they had been exploded. It is upon record, that a battle between two armies was once broken off by an earthquake: such an event would be felt like a miracle; but no incident in war, produced by human means, has ever equalled the sublimity of this co-instantaneous pause, and all its circumstances.

About seventy of the *Orient's* crew were saved by the English boats. Among the many hundreds who perished were the commodore, Casa-Bianca, and his son, a brave boy, only ten years old. They were seen floating on a shattered mast when the ship blew up. She had money on board (the plunder of Malta) to the amount of £600,000 sterling. The masses of burning wreck, which were scattered by the explosion, excited for some moments apprehensions in the English which they had never felt from any other danger. Two large pieces fell into the main and fore tops of the *Swiftsure*, without injuring any person. A port fire also fell into the main-royal of the *Alexander*; the fire which it occasioned was speedily extinguished. Captain Ball had provided, as far as human foresight could provide, against any such danger. All the shrouds and sails of his ship, not absolutely necessary for its immediate management, were thoroughly wetted, and so rolled up, that they were as hard and as little inflammable as so many solid cylinders.

The firing recommenced with the ships to leeward

of the centre, and continued till about three. At day-break, the *Guillaume Tell*, and the *Genereux*, the two rear ships of the enemy, were the only French ships of the line which had their colours flying; they cut their cables in the forenoon, not having been engaged, and stood out to sea, and two frigates with them. The *Zealous* pursued; but as there was no other ship in a condition to support Captain Hood, he was recalled. It was generally believed by the officers, that if Nelson had not been wounded, not one of these ships could have escaped; the four certainly could not, if the *Culloden* had got into action; and if the frigates belonging to the squadron had been present, not one of the enemy's fleet would have left Aboukir Bay. These four vessels, however, were all that escaped; and the victory was the most complete and glorious in the annals of naval history.

"Victory," said Nelson, "is not a name strong enough for such a scene"; he called it a conquest. Of thirteen sail of the line, nine were taken, and two burnt: of the four frigates, one was sunk, another, the *Artemise*, was burnt in a villanous manner by her captain, M. Estandlet, who, having fired a broadside at the *Theseus*, struck his colours, then set fire to the ship, and escaped with most of his crew to shore. The British loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to 895. Westcott was the only captain who fell: 3,105 of the French, including the wounded, were sent on shore by cartel, and 5,225 perished.

ROBERT SOUTHEY

THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR

1805

Nobly, nobly Cape St. Vincent to the North-west died away ;
Sunset ran, one glorious blood-red, reeking into Cadiz Bay ;
Bluish 'mid the burning water, full in face Trafalgar lay ;
In the dimmest North-east distance dawned Gibraltar grand and grey ;
“ Here and here did England help me : how can I help England ? ”—say,
Whoso turns as I, this evening, turn to God to praise and pray,
While Jove's planet rises yonder, silent over Africa.

Home-thoughts from the Sea.

NELSON arrived off Cadiz on the 29th of September—his birthday. Fearing that, if the enemy knew his force, they might be deterred from venturing to sea, he kept out of sight of land, desired Collingwood to fire no salute, and hoist no colours ; and wrote to Gibraltar to request that the force of the fleet might not be inserted there in the *Gazette*. His reception on the Mediterranean fleet was as gratifying as the farewell of his countrymen at Portsmouth : the officers, who came on board to welcome him, forgot his rank as commander, in their joy at seeing him again.

On the day of his arrival, Villeneuve received orders to put to sea the first opportunity. Villeneuve, however, hesitated, when he heard that Nelson had resumed the command. He called a council of war ; and their determination was, that it would not be expedient to

leave Cadiz unless they had reason to believe themselves stronger by one-third than the British force. In the public measures of this country, secrecy is seldom practicable, and seldom attempted: here, however, by the precautions of Nelson, and the wise measures of the Admiralty, the enemy were for once kept in ignorance; for, as the ships appointed to reinforce the Mediterranean fleet were despatched singly, each as soon as it was ready, their collected number was not stated in the newspapers, and their arrival was not known to the enemy. But the enemy knew that Admiral Louis, with six sail, had been detached for stores and water to Gibraltar. Accident also contributed to make the French Admiral doubt whether Nelson himself had actually taken the command. An American, lately arrived from England, maintained that it was impossible—for he had seen him only a few days before in London; and, at that time, there was no rumour of his going again to sea.

The station which Nelson had chosen was some fifty or sixty miles to the west of Cadiz, near Cape St. Mary's. At this distance he hoped to decoy the enemy out, while he guarded against the danger of being caught with a westerly wind near Cadiz, and driven within the Straits. The blockade of the port was rigorously enforced, in hopes that the combined fleet might be forced to sea by want. The Danish vessels, therefore, which were carrying provisions from the French ports in the bay, under the name of Danish property, to all the little ports from Ayamonte to Algeziras, from whence they were conveyed in coasting boats to Cadiz, were seized. Without this proper exertion of power, the blockade would have been rendered nugatory, by the advantage thus taken of the neutral flag. The supplies from France were thus effectually cut off. There was now every indication that the enemy would speedily venture out: officers and

men were in the highest spirits at the prospect of giving them a decisive blow ; such, indeed, as would put an end to all further contest upon the seas.

At this time Nelson was not without some cause of anxiety ; he was in want of frigates—the eyes of the fleet, as he always called them : to the want of which the enemy before were indebted for their escape, and Bonaparte for his arrival in Egypt. He had only twenty-three ships—others were on their way—but they might come too late ; and, though Nelson never doubted of victory, mere victory was not what he looked to, he wanted to annihilate the enemy's fleet. The Carthagena squadron might effect a junction with this fleet on the one side ; and, on the other, it was to be expected that a similar attempt would be made by the French from Brest ; in either case a formidable contingency to be apprehended by the blockading force. The Rochefort squadron did push out, and had nearly caught the *Agamemnon* and *l'Aimable* on their way to reinforce the British Admiral.

On the 9th, Nelson sent Collingwood what he called, in his diary, the Nelson-touch. “I send you,” he said, “my plan of attack, as far as a man dare venture to guess at the very uncertain position the enemy may be found in ; but it is to place you perfectly at ease respecting my intentions, and to give full scope to your judgment for carrying them into effect. We can, my dear Coll., have no little jealousies. We have only one great object in view, that of annihilating our enemies, and getting a glorious peace for our country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you ; and no man will render your services more justice than your very old friend—Nelson and Bronte.” The order of sailing was to be the order of battle ; the fleet in two lines, with an advanced squadron of eight of the fastest sailing two-

deckers. The second in command, having the entire direction of his line, was to break through the enemy, about the twelfth ship from their rear : he would lead through the centre, and the advanced squadron was to cut off three or four ahead of the centre. This plan was to be adapted to the strength of the enemy, so that they should always be one-fourth superior to those whom they cut off. Nelson said, "That his admirals and captains, knowing his precise object to be that of a close and decisive action, would supply any deficiency of signals, and act accordingly. In case signals cannot be seen or clearly understood, no captain can do wrong if he places his ship alongside that of an enemy." One of the last orders of this admirable man was, that the name and family of every officer, seaman, and marine, who might be killed or wounded in action, should be, as soon as possible, returned to him, in order to be transmitted to the chairman of the patriotic fund, that the case might be taken into consideration, for the benefit of the sufferer or his family.

About half-past nine in the morning of the 19th, the *Mars*, being the nearest to the fleet of the ships which formed the line of communication with the frigates in-shore, repeated the signal that the enemy were coming out of port. The wind was at this time very light, with partial breezes, mostly from the SSW. Nelson ordered the signal to be made for a chase in the south-east quarter. About two, the repeating-ships announced that the enemy were at sea. All night the British fleet continued under all sail, steering to the south-east. At daybreak they were in the entrance of the Straits, but the enemy were not in sight. About seven, one of the frigates made signal that the enemy were bearing north. Upon this the *Victory* hove-to ; and shortly afterwards Nelson made sail again to the northward. In the afternoon the

wind blew fresh from the south-west, and the English began to fear that the foe might be forced to return to port. A little before sunset, however, Blackwood, in the *Euryalus*, telegraphed that they appeared determined to go to the westward. "And that," said the Admiral in his diary, "they shall not do, if it is in the power of Nelson and Bronte to prevent them." Nelson had signified to Blackwood that he depended upon him to keep sight of the enemy. They were observed so well, that all their motions were made known to him; and, as they wore twice, he inferred that they were aiming to keep the port of Cadiz open and would retreat there as soon as they saw the British fleet; for this reason he was very careful not to approach near enough to be seen by them during the night.

At daybreak the combined fleets were distinctly seen from the *Victory's* deck, formed in a close line of battle ahead, on the starboard tack, about twelve miles to leeward, and standing to the south. Our fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line and four frigates; theirs of thirty-three and seven large frigates. Their superiority was greater in size and weight of metal than in numbers. They had four thousand troops on board; and the best riflemen who could be procured, many of them Tyrolese, were dispersed through the ships. Little did the Tyrolese, and little did the Spaniards, at that day, imagine what horrors the wicked tyrant whom they served was preparing for their country.

Soon after daylight Nelson came on deck. The 21st of October was a festival in his family, because on that day his uncle, Captain Suckling, in the *Dreadnought*, with two other line-of-battle ships, had beaten off a French squadron of four sail of the line and three frigates. Nelson, with that sort of superstition from which few persons are entirely exempt, had more than once expressed his

persuasion that this was to be the day of his battle also ; and he was well pleased at seeing his prediction about to be verified. The wind was now from the west, light breezes, with a long, heavy swell. Signal was made to bear down upon the enemy in two lines ; and the fleet set all sail. Collingwood, in the *Royal Sovereign*, led the lee line of thirteen ships ; the *Victory* led the weather line of fourteen. Having seen that all was as it should be, Nelson retired to his cabin, and wrote the following prayer :—

“ May the great God, whom I worship, grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory ; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it ! And may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet ! For myself individually, I commit my life to Him that made me ; and may His blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my country faithfully. To Him I resign myself, and the just cause which is entrusted to me to defend. Amen, Amen, Amen.”

Blackwood went on board the *Victory* about six. He found him in good spirits, but very calm ; not in that exhilaration which he had felt upon entering into battle at Aboukir and Copenhagen : he knew that his own life would be particularly aimed at, and seems to have looked for death with almost as sure an expectation as for victory. His whole attention was fixed upon the enemy. They tacked to the northward, and formed their line on the larboard tack ; thus bringing the shoals of Trafalgar and St. Pedro under the lee of the British, and keeping the port of Cadiz open for themselves. This was judiciously done ; and Nelson, aware of all the advantages which it gave them, made signal to prepare to anchor.

Villeneuve was a skilful seaman ; worthy of serving a better master and a better cause. His plan of defence

was as well conceived, and as original, as the plan of attack. He formed the fleet in a double line; every alternate ship being about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern. Nelson, certain of a triumphant issue to the day, asked Blackwood what he should consider as a victory. That officer answered, that, considering the handsome way in which battle was offered by the enemy, their apparent determination for a fair trial of strength, and the situation of the land, he thought it would be a glorious result if fourteen were captured. He replied: "I shall not be satisfied with less than twenty." Soon afterwards he asked him, if he did not think there was a signal wanting. Captain Blackwood made answer, that he thought the whole fleet seemed very clearly to understand what they were about. These words were scarcely spoken before that signal was made, which will be remembered as long as the language, or even the memory, of England shall endure—Nelson's last signal:—

ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY!

It was received throughout the fleet with a shout of answering acclamation, made sublime by the spirit which it breathed, and the feeling which it expressed. "Now," said Lord Nelson, "I can do no more. We must trust to the great Disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty."

He wore that day, as usual, his Admiral's frock coat, bearing on the left breast four stars, of the different orders with which he was invested. Ornaments which rendered him so conspicuous a mark for the enemy were beheld with ominous apprehensions by his officers. It was known that there were riflemen on board the French ships; and it could not be doubted but that his life

would be particularly aimed at. They communicated their fears to each other ; and the surgeon, Mr. Beatty, spoke to the chaplain, Dr. Scott, and to Mr. Scott, the public secretary, desiring that some person would entreat him to change his dress, or cover his stars ; but they knew that such a request would highly displease him. “ In honour I had gained them,” he had said, when such a thing had been hinted to him formerly, “ and in honour I will die with them.” Mr. Beatty, however, would not have been deterred by any fear of exciting displeasure from speaking to him himself upon a subject in which the weal of England, as well as the life of Nelson, was concerned—but he was ordered from the deck before he could find an opportunity. This was a point upon which Nelson’s officers knew that it was hopeless to remonstrate or reason with him ; but both Blackwood and his own captain, Hardy, represented to him how advantageous to the fleet it would be for him to keep out of action as long as possible ; and he consented at last to let the *Leviathan* and the *Temeraire*, which were sailing abreast of the *Victory*, be ordered to pass ahead. Yet even here the last infirmity of this noble mind was indulged ; for these ships could not pass ahead if the *Victory* continued to carry all her sail ; and so far was Nelson from shortening sail, that it was evident he took pleasure in pressing on, and rendering it impossible for them to obey his own orders. A long swell was setting into the Bay of Cadiz : our ships, crowding all sail, moved majestically before it, with light winds from the south-west. The sun shone on the sails of the enemy ; and their well-formed line, with their numerous three-deckers, made an appearance which any other assailants would have thought formidable ; but the British sailors only admired the beauty and the splendour of the spectacle ; and, in full confidence of winning what they saw, remarked



TRAFALGAR

to each other, what a fine sight yonder ships would make at Spithead !

The French Admiral, from the *Bucentaure*, beheld the new manner in which his enemy was advancing—Nelson and Collingwood each leading his line—and pointing them out to his officers, he is said to have exclaimed that such conduct could not fail to be successful. Yet Villeneuve had made his own dispositions with the utmost skill, and the fleets under his command waited for the attack with perfect coolness. Ten minutes before twelve they opened their fire. Eight or nine of the ships immediately ahead of the *Victory*, and across her bows, fired single guns at her, to ascertain whether she was yet within their range. As soon as Nelson perceived that their shot passed over him he desired Blackwood and Captain Prowse, of the *Sirius*, to repair to their respective frigates, and, on their way, to tell all the captains of the line-of-battle ships that he depended on their exertions ; and that, if by the prescribed mode of attack they found it impracticable to get into action immediately, they might adopt whatever they thought best, provided it led them quickly and closely alongside an enemy. As they were standing on the front poop Blackwood took him by the hand, saying, he hoped soon to return and find him in possession of twenty prizes. He replied, “God bless you, Blackwood ; I shall never see you again !”

Nelson’s column was steered about two points more to the north than Collingwood’s in order to cut off the enemy’s escape into Cadiz ; the lee line, therefore, was first engaged. “See,” cried Nelson, pointing to the *Royal Sovereign*, as she steered right for the centre of the enemy’s line, cut through it astern of the *Santa Anna*, three-decker, and engaged her at the muzzle of her guns on the starboard side ; “see how that noble fellow, Collingwood, carries his ship into action !” Collingwood,

delighted at being first in the heat of the fire, and knowing the feelings of his commander and old friend, turned to his captain and exclaimed: "Rotherham, what would Nelson give to be here?" Both these brave officers, perhaps, at this moment thought of Nelson with gratitude, for a circumstance which had occurred on the preceding day. Admiral Collingwood, with some of the captains, having gone on board the *Victory* to receive instructions, Nelson inquired of him where his captain was, and was told in reply that they were not upon good terms with each other. "Terms!" said Nelson, "good terms with each other!" Immediately he sent a boat for Captain Rotherham; led him, as soon as he arrived, to Collingwood, and saying: "Look, yonder are the enemy!" bade them shake hands like Englishmen.

The enemy continued to fire a gun at a time at the *Victory* till they saw that a shot had passed through her main-topgallant-sail; then they opened their broadsides, aiming chiefly at her rigging, in the hope of disabling her before she could close with them. Nelson, as usual, had hoisted several flags, lest one should be shot away. The enemy showed no colours till late in the action, when they began to feel the necessity of having them to strike. For this reason the *Santissima Trinidad*, Nelson's old acquaintance, as he used to call her, was distinguishable only by her four decks, and to the bow of this opponent he ordered the *Victory* to be steered. Meantime, an incessant raking fire was kept up upon the *Victory*. The Admiral's secretary was one of the first who fell; he was killed by a cannon shot while conversing with Hardy. Captain Adair, of the Marines, with the help of a sailor, endeavoured to remove the body from Nelson's sight, who had a great regard for Mr. Scott; but he anxiously asked, "Is that poor Scott that's gone?" and being informed that it was indeed so, exclaimed,

“Poor fellow !” Presently a double-headed shot struck a party of marines, who were drawn up on the poop, and killed eight of them ; upon which Nelson immediately desired Captain Adair to disperse his men round the ship, that they might not suffer so much from being together. A few minutes afterwards a shot struck the forebrace bits on the quarter-deck and passed between Nelson and Hardy, a splinter from the bit tearing off Hardy’s buckle and bruising his foot. Both stopped and looked anxiously at each other : each supposed the other to be wounded. Nelson then smiled and said : “This is too warm work, Hardy, to last long.”

The *Victory* had not yet returned a single gun ; fifty of her men had been by this time killed or wounded, and her maintop-mast with all her studding-sails and their booms shot away. Nelson declared that, in all his battles, he had seen nothing which surpassed the cool courage of his crew on this occasion. At four minutes after twelve she opened her fire from both sides of her deck. It was not possible to break the enemy’s line without running on board one of their ships ; Hardy informed him of this, and asked him which he would prefer. Nelson replied : “Take your choice, Hardy ; it does not signify much.”

The master was ordered to put the helm to port, and the *Victory* ran on board the *Redoubtable* just as her tiller-ropes were shot away. The French ship received her with a broadside, then instantly let down her lower-deck ports for fear of being boarded through them, and never afterwards fired a great gun during the action. Her tops, like those of the enemy’s ships, were filled with riflemen. Nelson never placed musketry in his tops ; he had a strong dislike to the practice, not merely because it endangers setting fire to the sails, but also because it is a murderous sort of warfare, by which individuals may suffer and a commander now and then be

picked off, but which never can decide the fate of a general engagement.

Captain Harvey, in the *Temeraire*, fell on board the *Redoubtable* on the other side. Another enemy was in like manner on board the *Temeraire*, so that these four ships formed as compact a tier as if they had been moored together, their heads lying all the same way. The lieutenants of the *Victory*, seeing this, depressed their guns of the middle and lower decks and fired with a diminished charge, lest the ship should pass through and injure the *Temeraire*. And because there was danger that the *Redoubtable* might take fire from the lower-deck guns, the muzzles of which touched her side when they were run out, the fireman of each gun stood ready with a bucket of water, which, as soon as the gun was discharged, he dashed into the hole made by the shot. An incessant fire was kept up from the *Victory* from both sides; her larboard guns playing upon the *Bucentaure* and the huge *Santissima Trinidad*.

It had been part of Nelson's prayer that the British fleet might be distinguished by humanity in the victory he expected. Setting an example himself he twice gave orders to cease firing upon the *Redoubtable*, supposing that she had struck, because her great guns were silent, for, as she carried no flag, there was no means of instantly ascertaining the fact. From this ship, which he had thus twice spared, he received his death. A ball fired from her mizen-top which, in the then situation of the two vessels, was not more than fifteen yards from that part of the deck where he was standing, struck the epaulette on his left shoulder about a quarter after one, just in the heat of the action. He fell upon his face, on the spot which was covered with his poor secretary's blood. Hardy, who was a few steps from him, turning round, saw three men raising him up. "They have done for

me at last, Hardy!" said he. "I hope not!" cried Hardy. "Yes," he replied; "my backbone is shot through."

Yet even now, not for a moment losing his presence of mind, he observed, as they were carrying him down the ladder, that the tiller-ropes, which had been shot away, were not yet replaced, and ordered that new ones should be rove immediately. Then, that he might not be seen by the crew, he took out his handkerchief and covered his face and his stars. Had he but concealed these badges of honour from the enemy England, perhaps, would not have had cause to receive with sorrow the news of the battle of Trafalgar. The cockpit was crowded with wounded and dying men, over whose bodies he was with some difficulty conveyed, and laid upon a pallet in a midshipman's berth. It was soon perceived, upon examination, that the wound was mortal. This, however, was concealed from all except Captain Hardy, the chaplain, and the medical attendants. He himself being certain, from the sensation in his back and the gush of blood he felt momentarily within his breast, that no human care could avail him, insisted that the surgeon should leave him, and attend to those to whom he might be useful. "For," said he, "you can do nothing for me." All that could be done was to fan him with paper and frequently to give him lemonade to alleviate his intense thirst. He was even in great pain, and expressed much anxiety for the event of the action, which now began to declare itself.

As often as a ship struck the crew of the *Victory* hurrahed, and at every hurrah a visible expression of joy gleamed in the eyes, and marked the countenance, of the dying hero. But he became impatient to see Captain Hardy; and as that officer, though often sent for, could not leave the deck, Nelson feared that some fatal cause

prevented him, and repeatedly cried : " Will no one bring Hardy to me ? He must be killed ! He is surely dead ! " An hour and ten minutes elapsed from the time when Nelson received his wound before Hardy could come to him. They shook hands in silence, Hardy in vain struggling to suppress the feelings of that most painful and yet sublimest moment.

" Well, Hardy," said Nelson, " how goes the day with us ? " " Very well," replied Hardy ; " ten ships have struck, but five of the van have tacked and show an intention to bear down upon the *Victory*. I have called two or three of our fresh ships round, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing." " I hope," said Nelson, " none of our ships have struck ? " Hardy answered, " There was no fear of that." Then, and not till then, Nelson spoke of himself. " I am a dead man, Hardy," he said ; " I am going fast ; it will be all over with me soon." Hardy observed that he hoped Mr. Beatty could yet hold out some prospect of life. " Oh, no ! " he replied ; " it is impossible ; my back is shot through. Beatty will tell you so." Captain Hardy then, once more, shook hands with him, and with a heart almost bursting, hastened upon deck.

By this time all feeling below the breast was gone ; and Nelson, having made the surgeon ascertain this, said to him : " You know I am gone ; I know it. I feel something rising in my breast " (putting his hand on his left side) " which tells me so." And upon Beatty's inquiring whether his pain was very great, he replied, " So great, that he wished he was dead. Yet," said he, in a lower voice, " one would like to live a little longer too ! " Captain Hardy, some fifty minutes after he had left the cockpit, returned, and again taking the hand of his dying friend and commander, congratulated him on having gained a complete victory. How many of the enemy

were taken he did not know, as it was impossible to perceive them distinctly, but fourteen or fifteen at least. "That's well!" cried Nelson; "but I bargained for twenty." And then in a stronger voice he said: "Anchor, Hardy, anchor." Hardy, upon this, hinted that Admiral Collingwood would take upon himself the direction of affairs. "Not while I live, Hardy," said the dying Nelson, ineffectually endeavouring to raise himself from the bed; "do you anchor." His previous order for preparing to anchor had shown how clearly he foresaw the necessity for this. Presently, calling Hardy back, he said to him in a low voice: "Don't throw me overboard," and he desired that he might be buried by his parents, unless it should please the King to order otherwise. Then, reverting to private feelings: "Take care of my dear Lady Hamilton, Hardy; take care of poor Lady Hamilton. Kiss me, Hardy," said he. Hardy knelt down and kissed his cheek, and Nelson said: "Now I am satisfied. Thank God, I have done my duty!" Hardy stood over him in silence for a moment or two, then knelt again and kissed his forehead. "Who is that?" said Nelson, and being informed, he replied, "God bless you, Hardy!" And Hardy then left him, for ever.

Nelson now desired to be turned upon his right side, and said: "I wish I had not left the deck, for I shall soon be gone." Death was, indeed, rapidly approaching. He said to the chaplain: "Doctor, I have *not* been a *great* sinner"; and after a short pause: "Remember that I leave Lady Hamilton and my daughter Horatia as a legacy to my country." His articulation now became difficult, but he was distinctly heard to say: "Thank God, I have done my duty!" These words he repeatedly pronounced, and they were the last words which he uttered. He expired at thirty minutes after

four, three hours and a quarter after he had received his wound.

Within a quarter of an hour after Nelson was wounded, above fifty of the *Victory's* men fell by the enemy's musketry. They, however, on their part, were not idle, and it was not long before there were only two Frenchmen left alive in the mizen-top of the *Redoubtable*. One of them was the man who had given the fatal wound ; he did not live to boast of what he had done. An old quartermaster had seen him fire, and easily recognized him, because he wore a glazed cocked hat and a white frock. This quartermaster and two midshipmen, Mr. Collingwood and Mr. Pollard, were the only persons left in the *Victory's* poop ; the two midshipmen kept firing at the top, and he supplied them with cartridges. One of the Frenchmen, attempting to make his escape down the rigging, was shot by Mr. Pollard and fell on the poop. But the old quartermaster, as he cried out : " That's he, that's he ! " and pointed to the other, who was coming forward to fire again, received a shot in his mouth and fell dead. Both the midshipmen then fired at the same time, and the fellow dropped in the top. When they took possession of the prize they went into the mizen-top and found him dead, with one ball through his head and another through his breast.

The *Redoubtable* struck within twenty minutes after the fatal shot had been fired from her. During that time she had been twice on fire, in her forechains and in her forecastle. The French, as they had done in other battles, made use in this of fire-balls and other combustibles—implements of destruction which other nations, from a sense of honour and humanity, have laid aside ; which add to the sufferings of the wounded without determining the issue of the combat ; which none but the cruel would employ, and which never can be success-

ful against the brave. Once they succeeded in setting fire, from the *Redoubtable*, to some ropes and canvas on the *Victory's* booms.

The cry ran through the ship and reached the cockpit; but even this dreadful cry produced no confusion; the men displayed that perfect self-possession in danger by which English seamen are characterized; they extinguished the flames on board their own ship, and then hastened to extinguish them in the enemy, by throwing buckets of water from the gangway. When the *Redoubtable* had struck it was not practicable to board her from the *Victory*, for, though the two ships touched, the upper works of both fell in so much that there was a great space between their gangways; and she could not be boarded from the lower or middle decks because her ports were down. Some of our men went to Lieutenant Quilliam and offered to swim under her bows and get up there, but it was thought unfit to hazard brave lives in this manner.

What our men would have done from gallantry, some of the crew of the *Santissima Trinidad* did to save themselves. Unable to stand the tremendous fire of the *Victory*, whose larboard guns played against this great four-decker, and not knowing how else to escape them, nor where else to betake themselves for protection, many of them leapt overboard and swam to the *Victory*, and were actually helped up her sides by the English during the action. The Spaniards began the battle with less vivacity than their unworthy allies, but continued it with greater firmness. The *Argonauta* and *Bahama* were defended till they had each lost about four hundred men; the *San Juan Nepomuceno* lost three hundred and fifty. Often as the superiority of British courage has been proved against France upon the seas, it was never more conspicuous than in this decisive conflict. Five of our ships were engaged muzzle to muzzle with five of the

French. In all five the Frenchmen lowered their lower-deck ports and deserted their guns, while our men continued deliberately to load and fire till they made the victory secure.

Once, amidst his sufferings, Nelson had expressed a wish that he were dead, but immediately the spirit subdued the pains of death, and he wished to live a little longer—doubtless that he might hear the completion of the victory which he had seen so gloriously begun. That consolation, that joy, that triumph was afforded him. He lived to know that the victory was decisive, and the last guns which were fired at the flying enemy were heard a minute or two before he expired.

The total British loss in the Battle of Trafalgar amounted to 1,587. Twenty of the enemy struck—unhappily the fleet did not anchor, as Nelson, almost with his dying breath, had enjoined—a gale came on from the south-west ; some of the prizes went down, some went on shore ; one effected its escape into Cadiz ; others were destroyed ; four only were saved, and those by the greatest exertions. The wounded Spaniards were sent ashore, an assurance being given that they should not serve till regularly exchanged ; and the Spaniards, with a generous feeling which would not, perhaps, have been found in any other people, offered the use of their hospitals for our wounded, pledging the honour of Spain that they should be carefully attended to there. When the storm, after the action, drove some of the prizes upon the coast, they declared that the English, who were thus thrown into their hands, should not be considered as prisoners of war ; and the Spanish soldiers gave up their own beds to their shipwrecked enemies. The Spanish Vice-Admiral, Alva, died of his wounds. Villeneuve was sent to England, and permitted to return to France. The French Government say that he destroyed himself

on the way to Paris, dreading the consequences of a court-martial, but there is every reason to believe that the tyrant, who never acknowledged the loss of the Battle of Trafalgar, added Villeneuve to the numerous victims of his murderous policy.

It is almost superfluous to add that all the honours which a grateful country could bestow were heaped upon the memory of Nelson. His brother was made an earl, with a grant of £6,000 a year ; £10,000 were voted to each of his sisters, and £100,000 for the purchase of an estate. A public funeral was decreed and a public monument. Statues and monuments also were voted by most of our principal cities. The leaden coffin, in which he was brought home, was cut in pieces, which were distributed as relics of Saint Nelson—so the gunner of the *Victory* called them ; and when, at his interment, his flag was about to be lowered into the grave, the sailors, who assisted at the ceremony, with one accord rent it in pieces, that each might preserve a fragment while he lived.

The death of Nelson was felt in England as something more than a public calamity ; men started at the intelligence and turned pale, as if they had heard of the loss of a dear friend. An object of our admiration and affection, of our pride and of hopes, was suddenly taken from us ; and it seemed as if we had never, till then, known how deeply we loved and revered him. What the country had lost in its great naval hero—the greatest of our own and of all former times—was scarcely taken into the account of grief. So perfectly, indeed, had he performed his part, that the maritime war, after the Battle of Trafalgar, was considered at an end ; the fleets of the enemy were not merely defeated, but destroyed ; new navies must be built, and a new race of seamen reared for them, before the possibility of their invading our shores could again be contemplated. It was not, therefore, from any

selfish reflection upon the magnitude of our loss that we mourned for him : the general sorrow was of a higher character. The people of England grieved that funeral ceremonies and public monuments and posthumous rewards were all which they could now bestow upon him whom the King the Legislature and the nation would have alike delighted to honour ; whom every tongue would have blessed ; whose presence in every village through which he might have passed would have wakened the church bells, have given schoolboys a holiday, have drawn children from their sports to gaze upon him, and old men from the chimney corner to look upon Nelson ere they died.

The victory of Trafalgar was celebrated, indeed, with the usual forms of rejoicing, but they were without joy, for such already was the glory of the British navy, through Nelson's surpassing genius, that it scarcely seemed to receive any addition from the most signal victory that ever was achieved upon the seas ; and the destruction of this mighty fleet, by which all the maritime schemes of France were totally frustrated, hardly appeared to add to our security or strength, for, while Nelson was living, to watch the combined squadrons of the enemy, we felt ourselves as secure as now, when they are no longer in existence.

There was reason to suppose that, in the course of nature, he might have attained, like his father, to a good old age. Yet he cannot be said to have fallen prematurely whose work was done ; nor ought he to be lamented, who died so full of honours and at the height of human fame. The most triumphant death is that of the martyr ; the most awful that of the martyred patriot ; the most splendid that of the hero in the hour of victory ; and if the chariot and the horses of fire had been vouchsafed for Nelson's translation, he could scarcely have departed in a brighter

blaze of glory. He has left us, not indeed his mantle of inspiration, but a name and an example which are at this hour inspiring thousands of the youth of England—a name which is our pride, and an example which will continue to be our shield and our strength.

ROBERT SOUTHEY

THE OLD HAVEN

OFTEN I think of the beautiful town
That is seated by the sea ;
Often in thought go up and down
The pleasant streets of that dear old town,
And my youth comes back to me.
And a verse of a Lapland song
Is haunting my memory still :
" A boy's will is the wind's will,
And the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts."

I can see the shadowy lines of its trees,
And catch, in sudden gleams,
The sheen of the far-surrounding seas,
And islands that were the Hesperides
Of all my boyish dreams.

I remember the black wharves and the slips,
And the sea-tides tossing free ;
And Spanish sailors with bearded lips,
And the beauty and mystery of the ships,
And the magic of the sea.

I remember the bulwarks by the shore,
And the fort upon the hill ;
The sunrise gun with its hollow roar,
The drum-beat repeated o'er and o'er,
And the bugle wild and shrill.

I remember the sea-fight far away,
How it thundered o'er the tide !
And the dead sea-captains, as they lay
In their graves o'erlooking the tranquil bay
Where they in battle died.
And the music of that old song
Throbs in my memory still :
" A boy's will is the wind's will,
And the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts."

H. W. LONGFELLOW

CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE

B.C.

55 Julius Caesar lands in Britain.

A.D.

78-84 Agricola governs Britain and sends his ships round Scotland.

477-480 Landing of Saxons and Angles.

787 First attack on England by the Northmen.

795 First appearance of the Northmen in the Western Isles (Hebrides, etc.).

807 The Northmen invade Ireland.

837-97 Harassing and Settlement of England by the Danes.

872 Orkney, Shetland, the Hebrides and the Isle of Man subdued by Harold Hair-fair, King of Norway.

937 Athelstan defeats the Northmen at Brunanburh.

992 Olaf Tryggvisson baptized in the Scilly Isles.

994 Olaf and Sweyn attack London.

997-9 Ethelred pursues the Danes across the Channel.

A.D.

1014 Death of Sweyn. The Northmen defeated at Clontarf, near Dublin. Thorfinn the Northman made Earl of Caithness and Sutherland. Ethelred drives out Canute. Olaf the Saint helps Ethelred and attacks the Danes at London Bridge.

1017-35 Canute King of England.

1028 Olaf the Saint driven from Norway by Canute, King of England and Denmark.

1030 Olaf the Saint defeated at the great seafight at Stiklestad.

1046 Sweyn, son of Godwin, ravaged South Wales.

1066 Landing of William the Norman.

1098 King Magnus of Norway overruns the Hebrides, Kintyre and Man.

1103 King Magnus killed in Ireland.

1107 A Fleet of English, Danish and Flemish ships sails to Jaffa.

A.D.

- 1120 Prince William drowned in the *White Ship*.
- 1147 A fleet of English, German and Flemish ships delivers Lisbon from the Moors.
- 1152 Earl Rognvald sails from Orkney on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.
- 1158 Henry II invades France.
- 1160 Legendary discovery of America by Madoc the son of Owain Gwynedd.
- 1190 Crusade of Richard Cœur de Lion.
- 1213 Philip II of France defeated at sea by the English.
- 1217 De Burgh defeats the French off Sandwich.
- 1230 Henry III invades France.
- 1240 An English Crusade reaches Jaffa.
- 1263 King Hakon Hakonsson's fight at Largs.
- 1290 Death of Margaret of Norway on the way to Scotland.
- 1295 The French collect a large fleet and attempt an invasion of England. They burn Dover, but are beaten off and their fleet disperses.
- 1338 Edward III lands in Flanders.
- 1340 Battle of Sluys.
- 1346 Edward III invades France.
- 1347 Edward blockades Calais.
- 1350 Battle of Les Espagnols sur Mer, off Winchelsea.
- 1355 The English invade France.

A.D.

- 1366-7 Expedition of the Black Prince into Spain.
- 1369 Burning of Portsmouth by the French.
- 1372 Defeat of the English by the Spaniards and French off Rochelle. Edward III makes a Treaty with Genoa.
- 1387 Arundel defeats a Flemish fleet.
- 1390 An English and French fleet besieges Tunis.
- 1405 Agreement between Henry IV and the Hansa towns. Niño in Cornwall.
- 1415 English merchants assist the Portuguese in Morocco. Henry V takes Harfleur.
- 1416 Henry V lays the foundation of a national Navy.
- 1437 *The Libel of English Policy* written, exhorting all England to keep the sea, and namely the Narrow Sea.
- 1475 Edward IV's expedition to France.
- 1496 The Magnus Intercursus, a commercial treaty, made with Flanders.
- 1497 The Cabots discover Nova Scotia.
- 1512 The *Regent* and the *Corde-lie* burnt in a fight off St. Mahé.
- 1520 Henry VIII and Francis of France meet at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.
- 1527 Robert Thorne's Declaration.

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| <p>A.D.</p> <p>1528-30 William Hawkins makes voyages to Guinea and Brazil.</p> <p>1536 Hore's Voyage to Newfoundland.</p> <p>1544 Henry VIII takes Boulogne.</p> <p>1545 The French land in the Isle of Wight.</p> <p>1553 Voyage and Death of Sir Hugh Willoughby. Richard Chancellor reaches Russia by way of the White Sea.</p> <p>1556 Stephen Burrough reaches the entrance to the Kara Sea.</p> <p>1558 Loss of Calais.</p> <p>1562 The English occupy Havre.</p> <p>562-3 Sir John Hawkins' first voyage to Sierra Leone and the West Indies.</p> <p>1568 Sir John Hawkins and Drake at San Juan de Allosa.</p> <p>1572 Drake at Nombre de Dios.</p> <p>1575 John Oxenham at Darien.</p> <p>1576-8 Martin Frobisher's three voyages to the North-West.</p> <p>1576 Gilbert's <i>Discourse of a Discovery for a New Passage to Cataia</i>.</p> <p>1577 Drake starts on his voyage round the world. John Foxe delivers 266 Christians from captivity at Alexandria.</p> <p>1580 Drake returns home richly laden.</p> <p>1581 The Levant Company incorporated.</p> | <p>A.D.</p> <p>1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert proclaims English sovereignty in Newfoundland. He is lost on the return voyage.</p> <p>1584 Raleigh sends an expedition to Virginia.</p> <p>1585 Drake plunders Vigo. First settlement of Virginia, superintended by Sir Richard Grenville.</p> <p>1585-7 John Davis's three voyages to the North-West.</p> <p>1586-8 Candish's circumnavigation.</p> <p>1587 Drake at Cadiz.</p> <p>1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada.</p> <p>1589 Expedition of Drake and Norris against Spain. First Edition of Hakluyt's <i>Principal Navigations</i>.</p> <p>1591 James Lancaster sails in the first English voyage to the East Indies. Grenville in the <i>Revenge</i> fights a Spanish fleet.</p> <p>1592 Sir John Burrough captures the carrack <i>Madre de Dios</i>.</p> <p>1594 Sir Richard Hawkins plunders Valparaiso.</p> <p>1595 Raleigh's expedition in search of El Dorado. Sir John Hawkins dies off Porto Rico.</p> <p>1596 Essex at Cadiz. Drake dies off Nombre de Dios.</p> <p>1598-1600 New and Enlarged Edition of <i>Hakluyt's Voyages</i>.</p> |
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A.D.

- 1600 The East India Company receives a charter. William Adams reaches Japan and is detained there the rest of his life (till 1620) as naval constructor and adviser.
- 1601-3 Lancaster's voyage to the East Indies for the merchants of London.
- 1602 George Weymouth reaches what is now Hudson Strait.
- 1605 John Davis killed by Japanese pirates.
- 1605-6 James Hall pilots Danish expeditions to Greenland.
- 1607 English Settlements in America.
- 1608 Henry Hudson reaches Nova Zembla.
- 1610 The Merchant Adventurers founded.
- 1611 Henry Hudson abandoned in Hudson Bay.
- 1612 James Hall takes an English expedition to Greenland.
- 1612-13 Sir Thomas Button explores Hudson Bay.
- 1612-14 John Saris in Japan.
- 1613-14 William Baffin protects the Spitzbergen fisheries.
- 1616 Raleigh's last expedition to the Orinoco.
- 1616 Baffin explores in the North-West.
- 1620 Puritan settlers land at Plymouth in America.

A.D.

- 1625 Mansfield's expedition to Flushing. Expedition to Cadiz. Publication of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*.
- 1626 Expedition to La Rochelle.
- 1631 Luke Fox and Thomas James in the North-West.
- 1634 Ship-money writs issued.
- 1635 Piracy in the Channel.
- 1649 Blake appointed Admiral.
- 1651 The Navigation Act against the Dutch.
- 1652 Blake defeated by Tromp.
- 1653 Blake's fights with the Dutch.
- 1657 Blake destroys the Spanish West Indian Fleet at Santa Cruz.
- 1665 The Dutch defeated off Lowestoft.
- 1666 Four Days' Battle off the Dunes.
- 1667 The Dutch burn English ships at the mouth of the Medway.
- 1672 Fight at Southwold Bay.
- 1673 Ruyter and Tromp gain victories at sea.
- 1676 An English fleet attacks the Barbary States.
- 1677-86 Cloudesley Shovel cruises in the Mediterranean against Barbary pirates.
- 1692 The French defeated at the Battle of La Hogue.
- 1694 The English bombard French coast towns.
- 1700 Rooke commands a fleet sent to support Carl XII of Sweden against the Danes.

A.D.

- 1702 Rooke destroys the Spanish and French fleets at Vigo.
 1704 Rooke captures Gibraltar.
 1707 Sir Cloudesley Shovel at Toulon. Lost in a wreck at the Scilly Isles.
 1708-11 Privateering voyage of Woodes Rogers.
 1710 Capture of Port Royal in Acadia.
 1713 Peace of Utrecht.
 1715 Sir John Norris commands a fleet in the Baltic.
 1717 An English fleet in the Baltic.
 1718 An English fleet in the Mediterranean. Battle of Cape Passaro.
 1719 Sir John Norris in the Baltic.
 1726 English fleets at Porto Bello and in the Baltic.
 1731 The *Rebecca* fight.
 1739 Vernon takes Portobello.
 1740 Anson commanding a squadron in the Pacific.
 1741-2 Christopher Middleton in the North-West.
 1744 Anson returns from his circumnavigation.
 1745 An English fleet on the Coromandel Coast. Louisburg in Cape Breton captured.
 1747 Hawke defeats a French squadron coming from Rochelle.
 1758 Boscawen at the Siege of Louisburg.
 1759 Wolfe captures Quebec. Boscawen defeats the French at Lagos Bay. Hawke and Howe at Quiberon.

A.D.

- 1762 Capture of Martinique, Havana and Manila by the English.
 1763 Peace of Paris.
 1766 The Falkland Islands occupied.
 1768 Captain Cook sails in the *Endeavour* for Tahiti.
 1769-70. Cook charts the coasts of New Zealand, the East Coast of Australia and part of New Guinea.
 1772-5 Cook's Second Voyage.
 1773 Constantine Phipps' Polar Expedition.
 1778 Cook discovers the Sandwich Islands. Paul Jones privateering against English ships. Barrington takes St. Lucia.
 1779 Cook in Bering Strait. He is killed in Hawaii. Paul Jones captures the *Serapis*. Siege of Gibraltar.
 1780 Rodney defeats the Spanish off Cape St. Vincent.
 1782 Rodney destroys the French fleet in the West Indies.
 1783 Treaty of Versailles.
 1793 Corsica occupied by the English.
 1794 Howe defeats the French fleet off Ushant, June 1.
 1795 Hotham defeats a French fleet off Genoa. Cape of Good Hope taken from the Dutch. Lord Bridport defeats the French off Port L'Orient.
 1796 English successes in the West Indies.

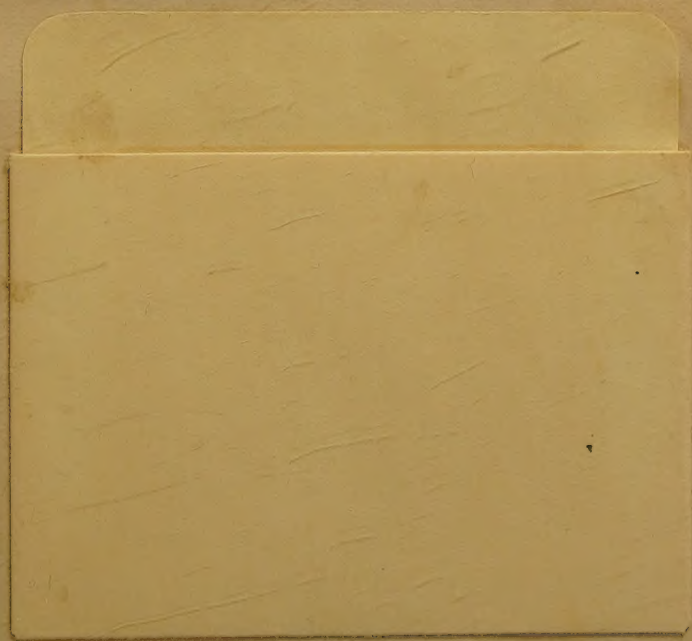
A.D.

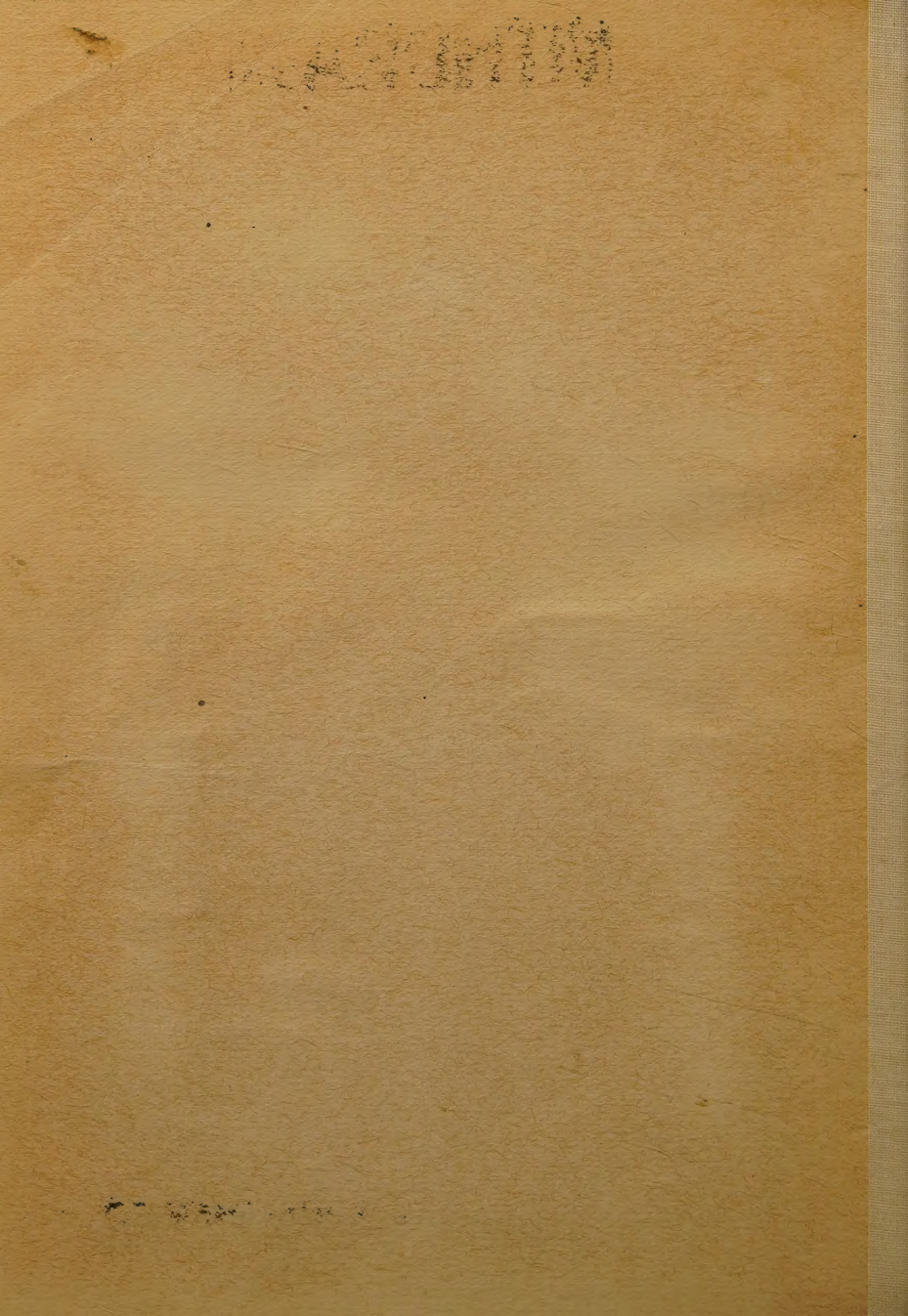
- 1797 Sir John Jervis wins the
Battle of St. Vincent.
Duncan defeats the
Dutch at Camperdown.
1798 Nelson wins the Battle of
the Nile.
1799 Sir Sidney Smith on H.M.S.
Tigre defends Acre suc-
cessfully.
1800 Malta captured.

A.D.

- 1801 Nelson attacks Copenhagen,
Madeira occupied. Sir
James Saumarez wins an
action at Gibraltar.
1802 Peace of Amiens.
1803 St. Lucia, Tobago and Gui-
ana taken.
1805 Battle of Trafalgar. Death
of Nelson. England re-
mains mistress of the seas.







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